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## PUBLIC WELFARE REORGANIZATION

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**I**T IS apparent that we are just on the threshold of an extensive public welfare development in the year 1937. The states have been doing some intensive planning and legislating on fundamental organizational problems and the federal government shows evidence of a new awareness of the need for better planning for administering a well-rounded public welfare program. Most people were more concerned about getting social security legislation enacted by the federal and state governments in 1935 than they were in how those laws were to be administered, but recent legislation reflects a significant difference in the emphasis placed on organization and administration.

### REASONS FOR REORGANIZATION

Many new departments were established during 1935 and 1936 due to the almost simultaneous withdrawal of the federal government from the field of direct relief and its entrance into the field of social security. The stimulation of federal grants-in-aid accelerated this development to a greater extent in 1937 as states were faced with the necessity of complying with the requirements of the federal Social Security Act relating to good administration. It is very apparent that the staff of the Social Security Board and the Children's Bureau have been in a position to give helpful assistance to the

states in framing new legislation or amending old statutes providing for administrative machinery.

Another factor that should be noted in this connection is the widespread activity of official commissions of one sort or another established to study the situation in the various states. Such commissions were usually primarily concerned with administrative machinery even more than in substantive changes in social security and other types of welfare legislation. During the last two or three years governors in many states appointed commissions to study reorganization of welfare functions. Such, for example, was the case in New York, Connecticut, Indiana, Michigan, Missouri, Minnesota, Pennsylvania, and Wisconsin. Some of these official surveys resulted in legislation during 1935 and 1936, while others reached consummation during 1937 as was the case in Michigan, Missouri, and Pennsylvania. In some states, such as Washington, the governors and administrators were quite sure what they wanted to recommend without such a preliminary survey, while other states such as Georgia, South Carolina, Nevada, and New Mexico sought advice from an outside agency like the American Public Welfare Association.<sup>1</sup>

#### EXTENT OF REORGANIZATION

During the first half of 1937, eighteen new departmental statutes were enacted and substantial changes made in the administrative machinery of several other states.<sup>2</sup> During the same period New York has been making changes in the State Department of Social Welfare and the local agencies based on the fundamental changes prescribed in the 1936 laws.<sup>3</sup> By July 1, 1937, the Temporary Emergency Relief Administration had been integrated with the permanent department and additional statutory changes made.<sup>4</sup> These New York changes represent developments based upon surveys, statutory changes, and continuing planning, while the statutory changes reported for other states merely lay the foundation for such administrative developments.

<sup>1</sup> Martha A. Chickering, "States Look at Public Welfare," *Midmonthly Survey*, May, 1937.

<sup>2</sup> See map.

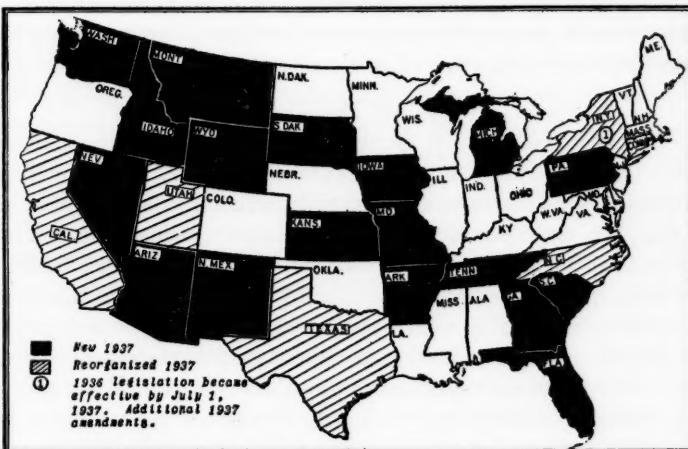
<sup>3</sup> *New York Laws of 1936*, c. 873 and 874.

<sup>4</sup> *New York Laws of 1937*, c. 358; David C. Adie, "New York State Welfare Reorganization," *Public Welfare News*, July, 1937.

Analysis of the new statutes shows great variation, but some summarization can be made relating to the type of departments established and the scope of functions assigned to these new or reorganized agencies.

#### ADMINISTRATIVE RESPONSIBILITY

Of the new departments established in 1937, by far the largest number provide for a plan of state and county co-operation in administration, with actual administration lodged in the local units, and supervision, service, and control of standards the responsibility



NEW OR REORGANIZED DEPARTMENTS OF PUBLIC WELFARE

of the state agency. In the remaining group of the new statutes, New Mexico provides that local units may be established by the state; South Dakota leaves the establishment of county or district agencies optional with the State Department, and Tennessee provides likewise for regional offices. These local offices are clearly part of the state administration. The new Florida act is a re-enactment of the 1935 act so far as provision for district offices is concerned. The California provision for such district offices as the state department deems necessary, is in addition to the county units and part of the state administration. The South Carolina county agencies are state controlled to a large extent through appointment of county

board members, fixing of personnel standards, and financing administrative costs. The Pennsylvania plan has many elements of a state administration, with the members of the county boards appointed by the governor and all the rules regulating county personnel, eligibility of applicants, budgets, reporting, etc., coming from the new State Department of Public Assistance. The fact that many of the emergency relief programs have been entirely state-operated has probably stimulated the development of permanent state plans on this pattern. In a sparsely populated state this form undoubtedly has many advantages, but it is probable that many of these state-administered plans will retain more local participation than the statutes would indicate.

#### BOARDS AND THEIR CAPACITY

All but two of the 1937 departments have boards of one kind or another. These two exceptions are Idaho, where the governor himself is ex-officio executive of the state department without any board assistance, and Tennessee where the governor appoints the commissioner and there is no advisory board connected with the cabinet position. The Pennsylvania state board includes the state treasurer and auditor general as well as seven other citizens appointed by the governor. Generally speaking, the board pattern consists of five or seven members appointed by the governor for overlapping terms that range from three to seven years. The powers granted to these boards show a wide range from the purely advisory in Washington to the actual executive board of Iowa. Usually the board has power to determine policies, establish rules and regulations, and set standards for personnel. In about half the states the board has authority to appoint the administrator and frequently to establish a merit system for staff appointments. The Iowa board serves in an executive capacity like a board of control with a secretary to carry out board orders.

#### EXECUTIVE REQUIREMENTS

The specifications for executive and staff positions show a growing recognition of the need for qualified people. In most of the states there is definite recognition of the importance attached to the position of the chief executive. The appointment of the commissioner,

director, or executive, as he may be called, is about evenly divided between appointment by the governor or the board. The outstanding characteristics of these new statutory provisions is the almost universal emphasis upon training, ability, and experience in public welfare administration. Unfortunately, there is also a tendency to prescribe state residence as a requirement, two years being specified in the Iowa statute, five years' residence in Florida, and even ten years in Missouri. Such a requirement is, however, even more frequent for staff members than for the executive. Florida has a peculiar requirement that the executive must have had at least two years' practical business experience. Salaries are specified in several of these statutes ranging from \$4,500 in Kansas and Montana, \$4,800 in Arizona, to \$6,000 in Florida and Georgia, to a range of \$6,000 to \$10,000 in California, and \$10,000 prescribed in Pennsylvania.

#### APPOINTMENTS FOR STAFF POSITIONS

Staff appointments, according to nearly all of the new statutes, are to be made on a merit basis. Various specifications for job analysis and classification, salary schedules, recruitment, and examination are made in the statutes, but much of this is rightly being left to administrative development, with rather general statutory provision for the establishment of a merit system. In many states this will mean the establishment of good personnel procedures, but in some it is only the gesture of lip service. Staff appointments are usually to be made by the executive, but the Tennessee statute limits the commissioner to appointing the division heads, and likewise in Washington the director appoints only the six assistant directors who in turn appoint their assistants. In several states, e.g., California, Florida, Montana, Nevada, etc., the appointment of staff members is a board function.

#### FUNCTIONS OF STATE DEPARTMENTS

The Washington Department of Social Security represents a very interesting experiment in bringing together unemployment compensation, the employment service, and public assistance functions. All appointments for both state and local personnel to administer these functions are to be made on the merit basis.

The greatest contrast between the newly established departments

and those of the past decade is the great emphasis on public assistance functions, easily explained by the stimulation of the federal social-security program. The disregard of institutional programs as related to public assistance functions in many of the states will necessitate a later integration if a well-rounded and related administration of public welfare is to be achieved. The establishment of separate agencies for the administration of this limited group of functions seems very short-sighted to people who believe that all of the related welfare functions administered by a state should be integrated in one strong, well-staffed department. Opinion is divided on this point, but there is general agreement that it is a great advance to bring together the administration of all types of public assistance, including general relief as well as the categories for old age, aid to dependent children, and aid to the blind. The inclusion of supervisory responsibility for the administration of the old poor relief system is opening up many interesting possibilities for improvement, the significance of which has been somewhat overshadowed by more spectacular developments.

#### EXAMPLES OF STATE PROGRAMS

Pennsylvania<sup>s</sup> provides a very interesting example of a unified program for public assistance, the plan for which was recommended by the Goodrich Committee. One of the most significant accomplishments is the abolition of the old poor boards and the elimination of the extremely confused administration of poor relief. The new program provides for a State Department of Public Assistance, headed by a secretary who is appointed by the governor and has cabinet rank. Associated with the secretary is a supervisory and policy-determining board of nine, also appointed by the governor with Senate consent, for overlapping terms. County boards of seven (eleven in Philadelphia and Allegheny counties) are to be appointed in the same way. All policies of local administration affecting the relief programs in which the state participates will be determined by the county boards, subject to the general policies and minimum standards approved by the state board. This new program provides for state financing of the public assistance programs themselves and

<sup>s</sup> *Pennsylvania Laws of 1937*, S.B. 877 and 883.

for the administration thereof. There are some very vulnerable spots in the merit system established, but the governor has authority to make it a reality if he so desires.

Michigan<sup>6</sup> has also adhered closely to the recommendations of the official commission in establishing a State Department of Public Assistance responsible for all forms of public assistance and relief, certain child welfare functions, and the administration of the two juvenile correctional schools and the Michigan Children's Institute. This department is headed by a commission of five which appoints the director and deputy director. No bureau or other internal organization units are created by this act which gives the commission power to create and abolish such units and allocate functions. This statute becomes effective as of January 1, 1938. Closely related are the statutory provisions for new county departments of public welfare,<sup>7</sup> which are responsible for the actual administration of the program. Each county department consists of a board of three, an executive director, and other necessary personnel.

The Missouri State Social Security Commission<sup>8</sup> is responsible for old age assistance, aid to dependent children, and child welfare services. Associated with the State Commission of five members are county commissions each consisting of four persons selected by the state commissioner.

The new divisions established in already existing departments in California, North Carolina, and Utah are public assistance divisions with somewhat similar functions. In Texas a State Division of Public Welfare is established in the Board of Control<sup>9</sup> to replace the previous Division of Child Welfare and the Texas Relief Commission and to take on additional public assistance functions. The Board of Control is empowered to select and appoint an executive director who "shall be a person of demonstrated executive ability and extensive experience in public welfare." The statute provides that local units of administration may be established to serve as units of this division. The emphasis in all these departments, new or reorganized, is on social-security functions with administration planned to meet the approval of the federal government.

<sup>6</sup> *Michigan Laws of 1937*, c. 257.

<sup>7</sup> *Ibid.*, c. 258.

<sup>8</sup> *Missouri Laws of 1937*, S.B. 125.

<sup>9</sup> *Texas Laws of 1937*, H.B. 7.

**CONTROL OF STATE INSTITUTIONS**

The administration of state institutions is not emphasized in most of these new statutes. The Georgia and Tennessee departments, succeeding to the functions of the old agencies that they supplant, are given the responsibility of administering all of the state charitable institutions. The Michigan department is responsible for three juvenile institutions and the Arizona department has a limited responsibility. The Florida act provides that the State Welfare Board shall supervise and control the state industrial schools if such responsibility is delegated to it by the Board of Commissioners of State Institutions. This act further specifies that the state department may establish and operate almshouses, public homes, farms, schools, and hospitals for the indigent. Some power over private institutions is included in the functions of a large proportion of the new state departments. It is only in Georgia and Tennessee that the new state agency has responsibility for the mental hygiene and correctional institutions and extra-mural programs in these fields. The Arkansas department is given power to "administer or supervise all mental hygiene work" but does not control the state institutions.

**STATE MEDICAL PROGRAMS**

Special mention is made of programs for prevention of blindness in several states, based upon co-operation with other agencies for developing such a program of prevention or giving the state agency itself responsibility for developing the program. In Kansas this includes a program for restoration of eyesight and vocational rehabilitation of the blind as well as the preventive program. In Georgia the department is given responsibility for "certifying hospitals under the insurance plan," and in Kansas, to develop with the county officials county finance plans for medical care for needy persons.

**RELATION OF STATE TO COUNTIES**

In all the state laws that provide for administration by county agencies, there is expressed or implied state responsibility for supervision and service to the counties. In some cases the local units are actually established or organized by the state and in others they serve as agents of the state. Appointment of county board members

in whole or in part, certification of the county executive, or prescribing of qualifications that must be met both for the executive and staff are common functions of the state agency.

#### LOCAL AGENCIES—COUNTY BOARDS

Several of the acts provide that the county commissioners are to serve ex officio as the county welfare board. This is the case in Kansas, Montana, and Washington, and Nevada provides that the county commissioners are to make provisions for local welfare administration. In Arizona the Board of County Supervisors appoints two other members and one member of their own board to serve as the county board of social security and public welfare. In Georgia the county commissioners appoint the five members of the welfare board with the approval of the state department. Likewise, in Iowa, Utah, and in part in Wyoming, the commissioners appoint the board members. In Idaho the five members of the county welfare board are selected by the state board and commissioner from a list prepared by the county established officers, and in South Carolina the three members are appointed by the state board or state director upon recommendation of the county legislative delegation. These boards usually consist of from three to seven members, with five most customary.

#### APPOINTMENT OF COUNTY EXECUTIVE

In the majority of the new state laws, the county board appoints the county executive. In quite a few states the qualifications for this position are prescribed by the state department or an eligible list is certified by the state department, as is the case in Utah. State residence is required in several states.

#### APPOINTMENT OF COUNTY STAFF

The county staff is either appointed by the county director or county board in most cases, sometimes by the county director with the approval of the county board or approval of the state department, as is the case in Idaho, or when authorized by the state department as provided by the South Carolina law. Qualifications are prescribed by the state department in the majority of states.

## FUNCTIONS OF COUNTY AGENCIES

All of these new county agencies have public assistance functions, the majority have child welfare functions of one type or another, and they usually have blanket authorization to act as agent of the state department.

The Public Welfare Act of Indiana<sup>10</sup> enacted in 1936 was amended so as to give the state more control over county units and extend the merit system to local personnel.<sup>11</sup> During this last year the Indiana Department of Public Welfare has had some valuable experience in setting up the new organization and experimenting with job analyses and recruitment for personnel. Examinations have been held for both state and local personnel.

It is difficult to evaluate the full significance of these statutes, but it is clearly apparent that these fundamental changes in administrative machinery, when coupled with the new social legislation of the year, mean many far-reaching changes. In the main, these changes represent real gains.

## FEDERAL REORGANIZATION

For the federal government there is no statutory provision for welfare reorganization to evaluate as yet. The report of the President's Committee on Administrative Management with recommendation for a new Department of Social Welfare was made public during January of this year.<sup>12</sup> In June, after long consideration in committee, a bill providing for reorganization of federal departments and independent agencies and for the establishment of a new Department of Social Welfare (S. 2700) was introduced in the Senate and is now under consideration. This department would promote "the public health, safety, and sanitation; the protection of the consumer; the cause of education; the relief of unemployment and of the hardship and suffering caused thereby; the relief of the needy and distressed; the assistance of the aged; and the relief and vocational rehabilitation of the physically disabled; and in general . . . co-ordi-

<sup>10</sup> *Indiana Acts, Special Session of 1936*, c. 3.

<sup>11</sup> *Ibid.*, 1937, c. 41.

<sup>12</sup> *Report of the President's Committee on Administrative Management, January, 1937*. Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office.

nate and promote public health, education, and welfare activities." Such an integration of welfare functions on the federal level seems a logical next step that is much to be desired.

During July the report on the government activities in the field of public welfare, prepared by the Brookings Institution for a Congressional committee, recommended a Department of Welfare with even wider scope of functions to include the field of labor as well as education, health, and welfare. The agencies to be included and alternative plans for organization of such a department are discussed in considerable detail.<sup>13</sup>

The prospects for any action providing for a Federal Department of Public Welfare during the present session of Congress looks rather remote, but federal reorganization seems inevitable within the next few years.

AMERICAN PUBLIC WELFARE ASSOCIATION  
CHICAGO

<sup>13</sup> *Report to the Select Committee To Investigate the Executive Agencies of the Government, No. 8 Report on the Government Activities in the Field of Public Welfare*, prepared by the Brookings Institution. Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1937. For recommendations of this report, see below pp. 472-89.

## A COMMUNITY PROGRAM FOR REDUCING UNEMPLOYMENT AND RELIEF<sup>1</sup>

C. M. BOOKMAN

SOCIAL workers have fought so hard and so often, and justly so, for adequate relief and for a sensible relief program that they are in danger of becoming more concerned about the new categories of relief that should be added to the present federal security and relief measures than they are in how to make relief unnecessary under any title. The time has come when all of us must take stock to determine where we are, so that we may chart an intelligent course from this point on.

It was recently estimated by the National Industrial Conference Board and by the American Federation of Labor that there are nine million unemployed persons in this country. Business has been rapidly approaching normal, but on February 20, 1937, there were 2,884,000 persons on the government works program including 2,147,000 on W.P.A. Other millions are still in need of relief but are receiving little or none at all. Unemployment and old age insurance are not yet paying benefits; and when they do, large groups will not be included.

Certainly such a situation suggests two points of approach: (1) adequate security including direct relief for those unable to earn a living; and (2) rehabilitation and re-employment for as many as possible. It is the latter approach that will be here discussed.

In the employment field those over forty-five are generally considered as unemployable with little or no chance of being reinstated in jobs. In fact, the term "unemployable" has come into quite general use to designate a large percentage of those now on relief. If a census could be taken of the so-called "unemployables," it would probably show at least three times as many persons classified as "unemployables" as the total relief load in 1929. This terrible havoc

<sup>1</sup> Paper read in Sec. III (Community Organization) of the National Conference of Social Work, Indianapolis, Ind., May 27, 1937.

of the depression and the casting into discard of the more mature workers presents a great challenge to social work. I believe that the general attitude of social workers is one of refusal to abandon any individual as permanently unemployable and hopeless until every resource has been exhausted to make him an independent and self-supporting citizen.

Social workers must lead the fight against a new psychology that seems to be gaining favor in some quarters, a psychology that interprets security as meaning government assurance of a living for many now on relief in a workless world so far as they are concerned. I believe we can accept as a sound position for social workers to hold that they are anxious that everyone needing relief secures it in decent and adequate amount, but are determined that as few persons as possible shall need relief in any form. Also, they refuse to classify any individual as "unemployable" until every resource has been exhausted to make him an independent self-supporting citizen.

I have no intention of discussing economic theories in this paper or of attempting to point out to industry and labor their separate or joint responsibilities. My main purpose at this time is to present one method of approach to the solution of social problems growing out of employment irregularities. My mind refuses to accept as inevitable a future in which masses of people can find their only security through relief measures whether disguised as Works Progress Administration jobs, Social Security grants, or relief allowances. The security people really want is the security of a permanent job at a sufficient wage to permit a decent standard of living. The only way to add to the real wealth of the world and thereby increase the standard of living for all is through productive labor in which each one contributes his part.

In presenting the program through which one community is trying to meet the problem, I have no delusions about the difficulties involved. I know that the problem is not only local but national and international in scope. In Cincinnati we are just on the threshold of putting this program into operation. We can claim very little for it in tangible results, but enough, I believe, to justify your consideration of its objectives and the machinery which has been set up to put it into effect.

## REGIONAL BUREAU OF ECONOMIC SECURITY

Several studies and attempts at stabilizing employment in Cincinnati preceded the present effort. In 1929, before the stock market crash, a "Permanent Committee on Stabilizing Employment and Handling Unemployment Should It Occur" was appointed by the city manager of Cincinnati. There was plenty of evidence that unemployment was growing at that time. The community seemed in doubt of the fact, however, and the final phrase in the title of the committee when created indicates that doubt—"handling unemployment should it occur." This early attempt to regularize employment was successful to the extent of influencing employers of labor to give part-time employment so that work could be made available to as many as possible. I am not interested in discussing the social soundness of this method of approach but to indicate the fact that employers of labor quite generally carried out the recommendation.

Following this effort, the Bureau of Governmental Research prepared a project in September, 1933, which recommended "A Regional Department of Economic Security" to co-ordinate the activities of all interested public and private agencies in the community to improve the economic security of the citizens of Hamilton County. This department, which operates the Employment Exchange, was set up under the auspices of the "Committee on Co-ordination and Co-operation in Hamilton County," which is comprised of the city manager, the president of the Board of Education, and the president of the Board of County Commissioners. This Committee on Co-ordination has been active for several years on budgets and programs affecting these three units of government.

The new Bureau of Economic Security had as its main objectives to

1. Maintain a community central employment office for classification, selection, placement, and counseling of workers
2. Co-ordinate the services of all public and private agencies to provide for the proper education and rehabilitation of the maladjusted, handicapped, and other workers
3. Aid and promote efforts to provide temporary work relief for employable workers
4. Assist business organizations in planning for stabilized employment
5. Assist public and private agencies in planning for the integration of industrial development with community needs

6. Co-ordinate the research projects promoted by various agencies in this community to provide a factual basis to formulate plans, policies, and standard practices

Various bureaus and committees were created to carry out this ambitious program. The Spellman Fund has been liberal in appropriations for the project. The federal, state, and city efforts at placement were put in charge of the Bureau from the first. The F.E.R.A. and the Works Progress Administration, through grants on work projects, have made possible many studies.

Through the Research Department of the Bureau of Economic Security, facts have been determined upon which the present efforts are based. Approximately 110,000 persons are registered at the Employment Division of the Bureau of Economic Security. Many of these are now employed. This registration includes facts bearing upon education, experience, and fitness of each registrant. The Employment Center maintains contact with all vocational training opportunities in Hamilton County. It studies the vocational aptitudes and skills of the applicants by interviewing and by vocational testing. It identifies the permanently unemployable applicant and refers him to the proper social agencies. It studies re-education problems. It selects qualified applicants for vocational openings. It maintains information on all applicants on punch cards for instant use.

Cincinnati set up as the governing board of the Bureau of Economic Security a board of five members representing the important interests of the community: Charles P. Taft, chairman, representing the professional groups and the general public; Otto Zoeklein, secretary of the Central Labor Council; Norris Edwards, executive vice-president of the Chamber of Commerce; Edward D. Roberts, superintendent of schools; C. M. Bookman, executive vice-chairman of the Community Chest. On the various committees through which the program is being carried, these interests have full representation.

#### THE CO-OPERATION OF EDUCATIONAL AND SOCIAL AGENCIES NECESSARY

The program of the Regional Bureau of Economic Security in Cincinnati, fine as it is, could never be effective unless supported by the educational and social agencies of the community. Problems of

unemployment are personal as well as social and economic. These personal problems constitute the human side of the undertaking.

One of the outstanding facts about relief rolls is the high turnover. This is caused by the marginal worker as well as by the instability of employment. These marginal workers have undoubtedly increased in numbers during the past few years and now constitute a major social problem.

The sector of the vicious circle of unemployment and individual inefficiency which social workers are peculiarly fitted to attack is the latter, namely, the human side of the problem. If the circle can be broken at this point it will greatly help industry and government in attacking the other sectors having to do with industrial and economic maladjustment.

The proposition may well be sustained that social work and vocational guidance and education in rehabilitating the character and skills of individual workers would assist materially in solving the unemployment problem, not only for the particular individual so assisted and trained, but also for society at large. Certainly the community and the nation in which there is a high level of intelligence, character, and skill among its workers will produce a greater amount of economic goods, a higher level of purchasing power, and a lower level of unemployment than a community in which the general level of labor is one of low intelligence and lack of character and skill. The forces of social work and education in a community may thus help to meet the problem of unemployment in a fundamental way from the social as well as from the individual standpoint.

Education and vocational training cannot stand by themselves if such education and training are to be provided for any large proportion of our young people. This will involve a solution of many other social and individual problems. The community must be educated and its support secured in providing the necessary public funds. The vocational training of young people and the retraining of older workers will not infrequently require that maintenance of workers and their families be provided during the period of training. Health agencies must help to clear the psychological barriers and difficulties. These same agencies must join the group work agencies in building the character and the morale that are needed. The co-

operation of employers and labor organizations must be secured. In all of this private as well as public social agencies may provide vital assistance and leadership.

#### THE FOUR-POINT PROGRAM IN CINCINNATI

A good deal of interest has been manifested, not only locally, but nationally, in a program along these lines which we are trying to develop in Cincinnati. This program has come to be known as the Four-Point Program. The program consists of

1. Vocational guidance and training for young people
2. Retraining for older workers whose skill has become obsolete
3. Plans for regularization of casual labor
4. Plans for rehabilitation and care of the unemployable group

1. *Vocational education.*—If the number of inefficient, marginal workers is to be reduced to a minimum, the first requirement is an effective educational and training program for youth. This necessity was brought out recently by a study of what has happened to children who were in the sixth grade of the public schools in Cincinnati in 1923. Of the 2,485 young people whom the study was able to locate, only one-third graduated from high school and one-tenth from college. Only one-third had ever had any vocational training of any kind. Most of these young people helped to fill to overflowing the reservoir of common labor.

The studies of the Employment Center have shown that the vocational training program in the schools has been poorly adjusted to the demand for various types of workers and has lagged behind industrial changes. Too many children are trained for some types of work and not enough for others.

The first point in the Four-Point Program in Cincinnati is, therefore, that our Employment Center shall continue to study the demand and supply aspects of the labor market and to act as a guide and stimulus for developing and keeping up to date an effective program of vocational education in the public schools and in industry itself. It is emphasized that employers as well as the schools must co-operate in this effort toward more effective vocational guidance and training. Much vocational training can best be done by industry itself. Employers, therefore, must play an important part in this program.

The chairman of the committee working on this problem is an industrial leader and the vice-chairman is a labor leader.

2. *Retraining of adult workers.*—The second point in the Four-Point Program is the re-education and retraining of adult workers who have lost their skill or who have deteriorated in health and morale to such a point that they have become marginal workers. The retraining of adult workers will require much co-operation from social agencies, both public and private. These agencies must play an important part in selecting those workers having the possibilities of rehabilitation as judged by their work records, personality, attitudes, habits, and character. Relief or maintenance will also be necessary for many workers during the retraining period.

Employers must also co-operate in being willing to take a certain number of such workers and to pay them at least part-time wages, while at the same time giving them careful direction and instruction on an apprenticeship basis. It is also hoped that the Cincinnati schools will be able to provide short-time training courses for some of these older workers.

3. *The casual labor market.*—The third part of the program in Cincinnati is definitely directed toward the casual labor market. The Employment Center has added to its staff one man who is devoting his time to developing and directing this work. Great possibilities exist in this direction, as has been demonstrated many times in the past, particularly in Europe, where labor market organization has progressed over a longer period than in this country. Instead of having such a large number of workers subject to the demoralizing influences of underemployment and irregular employment, a considerable portion of casual labor, it is hoped, may be given fairly regular employment, especially those better qualified for jobs. The setup is on a geographical district basis. In one of the suburbs, for example, an effort is being made quite successfully to organize small jobs about the houses, such as care of furnaces, mowing of lawns, gardening, laundry work, house cleaning, window washing, small paint jobs, etc. The purpose is to organize this work on a neighborhood basis and under competent direction so that a certain number of workers who prove themselves competent and faithful in doing such jobs may have fairly regular employment. The laborers are to

be graded according to training and experience, and projects intended to improve their technique will be organized as training centers.

4. *The rehabilitation and care of the "unemployables."*—The fourth point of the program in Cincinnati is directing its attention to the so-called "unemployables." Professional social work has been protesting this term ever since federal relief authorities in Washington began to use it as a basis for relief policy two years ago. We know that no such clear-cut distinction can be made and that experience is abundantly bearing out our position. The term carries with it an odium for the persons so designated, many of whom are not permanently unemployable. Thousands are being handicapped by such a classification. Many so classified are mothers with dependent children for whom there are not adequate funds under the Social Security Title. There are also many between fifty and sixty-five years of age who are capable of retraining or of useful service if properly placed. Some of the crippled and handicapped, with careful training and vocational placement, may become self-supporting.

The viewpoint adopted by the Cincinnati program is that all these possibilities for the so-called unemployable group shall be carefully studied and that this large group shall not be abandoned as worthless or helpless. Studies are already in progress to ascertain just what problems are represented in this unemployable group. As soon as such studies can be finished, it will be particularly the responsibility and function of the social agencies, both public and private, under the Four-Point Program, to do everything possible in a constructive way to provide adequate maintenance, rehabilitative service, and vocational guidance and training for those having such possibilities. For those who are actually and permanently unemployable, this fourth part of the program aims to provide assistance on a decent and humane basis. None should be abandoned to the degenerating and pauperizing effects of the old poor law.

#### ANALYSIS OF THE HAMILTON COUNTY RELIEF ROLL

Since this problem of rehabilitating the so-called unemployables is particularly the problem of social agencies, it will be of interest here to review briefly a recent analysis of those on relief in Hamilton

County as ascertained by the Hamilton County Welfare Department. This analysis of cases in February, 1937, showed the following classification:

Permanent unemployables.....	2,830
Temporary unemployables.....	682
Restricted employables.....	3,790
Employables.....	6,424
 Total cases.....	 <hr/>
	13,726

The family cases were classified according to the status of the principal breadwinner. The case-workers themselves have frequently said that the classification was in many cases uncertain and relative, but the further analysis made by the Hamilton County Welfare Department throws a great deal more light on the problems involved.

*The permanent unemployables.*—The 2,830 classified as "permanently unemployable" represented a little less than one-fifth of the total. These so-called "permanent unemployables" were classified as follows:

	Per Cent
Old age (one-third being between fifty and sixty-five years of age).....	37.6
Mothers with dependent children.....	14.1
Crippled and paralyzed.....	9.9
Other handicapped.....	13.3
Heart disease.....	6.1
Mental deficiency and mental illness.....	5.0
Inexperience.....	3.4
Blind and near blind.....	2.8
Tuberculosis.....	2.2
Diabetes.....	1.9
Epilepsy.....	1.2
Deaf.....	0.6
Other reasons.....	1.9

These 2,830 "unemployables" are more than twice as many persons as were receiving relief from all agencies on the average during the year 1929 in Hamilton County. It seems a reasonable hypothesis that many of them represent the ravages of the depression with its unemployment and underemployment, its inadequate wages, inadequate relief, inadequate medical and dental care, etc. Many will

undoubtedly prove permanently unemployable, but hope need not be abandoned for the others. There are, first, the mothers with dependent children who are not permanently unemployable at all and who should have adequate relief and service. Some of the prematurely old have possibilities of re-employment. These two groups—namely, the mothers of dependent children and the aged and prematurely aged—represent over 50 per cent of the total of those classified as permanently unemployable. It may be assumed that some of the handicapped, numbering 13.3 per cent of the total, must be capable of more or less vocational training and employment. Likewise some of those classified as inexperienced, constituting 3.4 per cent of the total, should not be hopeless.

*The temporary unemployables.*—The temporary unemployables represented those disabled for a short time by sickness or accident. Of this group of 682 the majority may be classified, as a rule, among the employables.

*The restricted employables.*—This classification adopted by the Hamilton County Welfare Department represents those who have a certain measure of employability but who for a variety of reasons have limited possibilities of earning a livelihood.

A study of a sample of 627 of these cases, classified according to the principal reason for relief, showed nearly one-half of them—namely, 304—to be on relief because of illness or poor physical condition. Sixty-two were classified as physically handicapped, thirty-nine as aged or prematurely so. Thirty-nine were mothers of dependent children. Twenty-five had mental problems. Nineteen were inexperienced.

It must be admitted that the restricted employable as well as the "permanent unemployable" group constituted a sad picture. Nevertheless it is certainly in line with case work experience to hold that many of this group also have some possibilities of rehabilitation and re-employment.

*Employables.*—Those classified as employable also included many who obviously needed careful vocational guidance, training, and rehabilitation. The definition of employability was, at least at first and probably has continued to be, rather liberal, so that as many as possible could be certified for W.P.A. Besides those of doubtful em-

ployability this "employable" group certainly also contained a considerable number who were purely and simply victims of economic maladjustments.

A good many persons in this group classified as employable represented occupations in which there was a surplus of workers over jobs. There were, for instance, 22 musicians, 24 nurses, 272 sales persons, 261 clerical workers, 175 teachers, 110 waitresses, etc.

Many of the employables represented marginal and unskilled labor. For example, a large group, 4,610, were classified as domestic service workers. The great majority of these were untrained for such work, having learned and practiced it only in their own homes. Although they were classified as employable, it is difficult to place many of them in domestic jobs. When they attempt to do such work in homes where high standards are demanded, they prove inefficient and are soon again out of employment. There is also a general preference among them for other types of work, such as factory work, laundry work, etc.; but for such work also many are untrained, incompetent, and stand a poor chance in a competitive labor market. They need careful vocational guidance and training. Cincinnati is trying to develop such a program.

Many of those on relief classified as employable were between jobs. There is a high rate of turnover in many industries, and this reflects itself in a high turnover on relief rolls. The mistake is commonly made of regarding the relief rolls as composed of the same persons month after month. The fact is that there is a large group who remain on relief for short periods only.

From the foregoing analysis of the February case load of the Hamilton County Welfare Department, it is obvious that there are numerous possibilities of rehabilitation. Certainly from the standpoint of social economy, as well as humane consideration, decent standards of relief and also adequate rehabilitative services should be maintained, and we hope that the fourth section of the Four-Point Program will be helpful in educating the community to the importance of maintaining both adequate relief and adequate service in our County Welfare Department.

Our private family, health, and group work agencies must also play an important part in supplementing the services of the public

agencies, particularly in furnishing leadership and education of the public for the support of such a program.

CONCLUSION

The social agencies, both public and private, in every community should be planning and making every effort at the present time to develop a constructive community approach to the problems of unemployment and relief. We must demonstrate our interest in making relief unnecessary as far as this is possible, while at the same time insisting also on the importance of adequate relief and service where and when it is needed in a comprehensive program of retraining and rehabilitation.

It is essential to a constructive community program that efficient and adequate public employment centers be developed, and that both public schools and employers co-operate in providing an adequate and efficient program of vocational guidance and training for young people and retraining for older workers. The social agencies also must play an active part, not only in providing leadership in such a program, but also in providing the case work and rehabilitative services and in maintenance and selection of personnel for the retraining that is required by such a program.

COMMUNITY CHEST OF CINCINNATI  
AND  
HAMILTON COUNTY, OHIO

## W.P.A. IN CHICAGO, SUMMER, 1936<sup>1</sup>

### A STUDY OF 550 CASES ASSIGNED TO W.P.A. NOW UNDER CARE BY THE CHICAGO RELIEF ADMINISTRATION

MARGARET C. BRISTOL

THE Works Progress Administration program which was inaugurated in August, 1935, has raised many questions and problems regarding the degree to which it has fulfilled the original plans and purposes for which it was established. Comparisons have also been made by some persons between the previous program of work relief and even with Civil Works Administration as to its efficiency and effects upon the workers.

While now always described by the President and Congress as the Federal Relief Program, we were originally told that W.P.A. was to be considered as regular employment and not as relief; and that jobs for which the remuneration was to be sufficient to meet the needs of the families were to be given by W.P.A. In fact, in the beginning no supplementary assistance or case-work services for W.P.A. workers were contemplated,<sup>2</sup> and the relief offices planned to close a case as soon as the assignee received his first full pay check. Very soon, however, it became apparent that in Chicago the income from W.P.A. was not sufficient to take care of the needs of many families and that some sort of supplementation would have to be given them. In a few instances continued service without financial aid seemed to be necessary. The specific circumstances which necessitated this supplementary relief or service were varied and differed greatly from case to case.

And so in order to secure some indication of the values of the W.P.A. program to the workers involved, as compared and con-

<sup>1</sup> This study was undertaken with the aid of the Committee on Social Security of the Social Science Research Council as a part of an analysis of national relief policies. The statements and conclusions of the author have not, however, been reviewed by the Committee or the Social Science Research Council and therefore do not reflect the opinions or attitudes of the Committee or of the Council.

<sup>2</sup> Preliminary statement in *Information for Sponsors of the Works Progress Administration Projects*, Circ. 1 (June 15, 1935), p. 1.

trusted with the former work-relief plan, and in order to secure some evidence as to the effectiveness of W.P.A., it was decided to analyze a group of cases in which some member of a family had been assigned to W.P.A.

#### SUMMARY OF THE WORK-RELIEF STUDY

Although this study may be considered as an entity in itself, it is in reality a part of a series of investigations carried on over a period of two years.

In the winter of 1933-34 a study of work relief in Chicago was begun at the request of a member of the Illinois Emergency Relief Commission and was carried on as an educational research project under F.E.R.A. This study was concerned not with the potential values of work relief under an "ideal" system of administration but rather with the values actually realized under the administration then in effect in Chicago.

Data from which the values of the work assignments to the men could be estimated were sought in part from the public relief agency case records. A random sample of 407 cases was taken from the entire group of men in one district relief office who were given work-relief assignments in January, 1934, the last month for which records were available when the study was commenced. In addition to the use of the case records as sources, personal interviews were arranged with 102 of these 407 cases.

The conclusions which were drawn from this study can be summarized very briefly here. It was apparent that in Chicago work relief had been given to a heterogeneous group of persons from which the sick, the aged, and the mentally handicapped had not been eliminated, although the majority of the men were in the prime of life with normal work records and with no outstanding disabilities. It was also evident that only in rare instances did work-relief assignments come soon enough to prevent the deteriorating effects of unemployment; and that many of the men who were given work relief had some sort of definite emotional or personality problem. The maintenance or development of skills was not fostered by the program except for a small minority of the men because of the availability of only a limited number of jobs requiring skill in proportion to the number of skilled workmen. Likewise the mainte-

nance of work habits, to say nothing of their development, was made very difficult by the small amount of work given to each man, the irregularity of the assignments, and, in many instances, by the laxity of the supervision of the work. Incentives to efficiency were entirely lacking. As to the general physical (health) effect upon the men, only meager information was secured regarding this point except that in a significant number of cases men with physical handicaps were placed in jobs which seemed totally unsuited to their physical capacity.

In spite of all these negative factors in the program, the investigation showed that work relief contributed much in decreasing the emotional tension and despair and in maintaining the self-respect of the men. And with all the many faults and disadvantages of the work which many of the men considered beneath them, an overwhelming majority who were interviewed expressed a liking for the work assignments and wanted them to continue.<sup>3</sup>

#### A SECOND STUDY OF WORK RELIEF IN CHICAGO

Throughout the remainder of 1934 work relief continued to be an important factor in the program of public assistance in Chicago. However, many changes were taking place that altered materially the original situation. Hence in October, 1934, the original study of work relief in Chicago was extended to include an additional 416 men on work relief, 38 of whom received their work-relief assignments along with the previous group in January, 1934, and 378 of whom were assigned in September, 1934.

This study showed very clearly that the work-relief situation in Chicago in 1934 as compared with that in 1933 had changed definitely and had apparently improved. This was indicated by the marked increases in both amount and regularity of the work relief; the provision of more adequate tools and equipment; the increasing efforts to fit the jobs to the needs of the men and to utilize the skills and training in appropriate types of work; and, finally, by the

<sup>3</sup> For a more complete discussion of this study see "Work Relief in Chicago," by Margaret Cochran Bristol and Helen R. Wright, in *Social Service Review*, VIII (December, 1934), 628-52.

introduction of physical examinations and ratings for all men before assignments were made to work-relief jobs.<sup>4</sup>

With this brief résumé of the work-relief study in mind, we may now turn our attention to the results of the analysis of the 550 assignees to W.P.A. who are now on relief.

#### ANALYSIS OF THE 550 CASES ASSIGNED TO W.P.A. NOW UNDER CARE BY THE CHICAGO RELIEF ADMINISTRATION

The 550 cases studied were taken from one district of the Chicago Relief Administration (formerly the Cook County Bureau of Public Welfare) which, it was believed, would provide a fairly representative group of the relief population of Chicago. The bases for this belief were the facts that the area served by this particular office is large in size, that there are various nationality and racial groups living in it, and that there is also a wide range of economic levels within the area.

The first step in securing the sample was to obtain from the vocational department the names of all individuals in that district who had been certified by the case-workers as being eligible to receive assignments for W.P.A. From this list, all persons who had never been actually assigned to W.P.A. were discarded as well as those whose cases were inactive (in the closed file) at the time of this study. This left the sample consisting of those persons in this district who had actually received W.P.A. assignments but whose cases were, at the time of this study, in the files of open or active cases in the agency.<sup>5</sup>

The case records were all read by an advanced student in the School of Social Service Administration of the University of Chicago who, at the time of the study, had had considerable previous experience both in teaching and in social work. Questionnaires and schedules were not used, but certain specific data were secured—data regarding the size and health of the family as well as of the person assigned to W.P.A., and the actual reasons for continuing relief or for resuming it again after assignment to W.P.A.

<sup>4</sup> A more detailed discussion will be found in "Changes in Work Relief in Chicago," by Margaret Cochran Bristol, in *Social Service Review*, IX (June, 1935), 243-55.

<sup>5</sup> From the foregoing it will be evident that this group of 550 cases cannot be considered as being representative of the W.P.A. population of the city as a whole.

From Table 1 it is apparent that of the 550 individuals who received W.P.A. assignments in this one office, and whose cases were active at the time of the study, there were 132, or 24 per cent, who did not accept these assignments and did not even report for work. The relief status of these individuals did not change. On the other hand, the majority of persons, 418, or 76 per cent, accepted the assignments and at least reported for work. It is interesting to note that in a number of instances, even though they did report, they were not permitted to start to work. To be exact, there were 76, or 18 per cent of the 418, who reported but were rejected immediately.

TABLE 1

## ANALYSIS OF THE RELATION OF 550 CASES TO W.P.A.

I. Did not accept W.P.A. assignment.....	132
II. Accepted W.P.A. assignment.....	418
A. Reported and rejected immediately.....	76
B. Reported and worked.....	342
1. Worked for less than a full pay period.....	17
2. Worked for full pay period or longer.....	325
a) Supplementary relief given... 225	
b) Supplementary relief not given 100	
Total .....	550

Some of those who started to work were not able to complete the first full pay period.<sup>6</sup> Seventeen, or 4 per cent of the 418 who reported, worked for less than this full pay period. If we add together all these persons who were assigned to W.P.A. but, for one reason or another, either could not work at all or did not work for one full pay period, we find that this accounts for 225 persons, or 41 per cent of the sample of 550 individuals. Of the remaining 325 men who did work the full pay period or longer, 225 received supplementary relief while working, while 100 did not.

<sup>6</sup> W.P.A. workers are paid semimonthly. However, it is possible for the worker to receive a partial pay check if he has started after the beginning of the pay period. The relief record is not supposed to be closed until after a pay check for a full pay period has been received; thus a person might receive pay for a three weeks' period in two checks before the record would be closed. When the assignment notice is received in the district office it states whether the person is to receive a full or a partial pay check. See *I.E.R.C. Bulletin*, No. 2699 (issued December 20, 1935), p. 1.

One of the chief purposes of this study was to determine, if possible, the reasons why individuals fell into one or another of these several different catagories, outlined in Table 1.

Beginning then with the first category, why was it that 132 of these 550 men did not accept their assignments and report for work? The records in approximately 50 per cent of the cases contained a specific statement as to the reason for the status of the case. In the other 50 per cent the reasons were usually obvious from the case histories.

In Table 2 the apparent reasons why these 132 cases did not report are indicated.

TABLE 2  
REASONS FOR NOT ACCEPTING W.P.A. WORK

	No.	Per Cent
Illness or physical disability .....	57	43.2
Had accepted private work which was not adequate for full maintenance .....	21	15.9
Did not receive assignment in time to report or was not at home to receive it.....	16	12.1
Old age .....	11	8.3
W.P.A. work would affect trade or professional status..	4	3.0
Assignee could not leave home to work.....	3	2.3
Refused to support family.....	2	1.5
Not trained or qualified for W.P.A. work to which assigned.....	2	1.5
Combination of above reasons .....	3	2.3
Not reported .....	13	9.9
Total .....	132	100.0

This analysis is especially significant in view of the widespread belief that persons on relief were being "pauperized" and would not accept employment even when offered to them. The actual records show that, not by any stretch of the imagination can the unwillingness to work be considered a significant factor in explaining this failure to report for work on W.P.A. A large proportion were either too sick or too old to report (43.2 per cent were too ill and 8.4 per cent were too old). This group should never have been assigned to work, and many should never have been certified as being employable by the case-workers. Only in cases in which illness developed

between the date of certification and of assignment or where the illness, present at the time of certification, was believed to be temporary in nature does there appear to be any justification for assignment of this group to W.P.A.<sup>7</sup> However, it is generally known that the changes in procedure were so frequent that it was most difficult for the case-workers to keep abreast of them, particularly since the individual case loads were quite large. But, even so, there are evidences of considerable laxity in the execution of administrative policies and there appears to be a need for definite alteration in procedure.

The following cases will serve to illustrate the situations which caused the assignees not to accept W.P.A. work as shown in Table 2.

Mr. Crane is lame and in his physical examination for work relief was given a rating of "C." He has had several clinic referrals for a heart condition. However, he was certified with no reference to his physical condition. He was assigned on 12-20-35 and on 2-17-36, both times as a laborer, but he did not report either time.

Mr. Bright, age forty, received an assignment on 11-27-35 as a laborer but did not report as he was in the hospital for a thyroidectomy. He was reassigned on 2-13-36 as a laborer. The diagnosis at that time was "post-thyroid and angina pectoris." He did not report, and to date a cancellation has not been sent in.

Mr. Cuhn, age thirty-two, was assigned as a laborer, but since the work was located more than thirteen miles from his home the agency requested a reassignment. Mr. Cuhn did not report for this work as he had been ordered to bed after getting both heels infected following blisters acquired while walking the streets looking for work. The record states that the man seemed "on the verge of a mental collapse."

A letter from the Veteran's Hospital on 1-10-35 stated that Mr. Daniels is under treatment for "chronic myocarditis and auricular fibrillation and even

<sup>7</sup> According to the *I.E.R.C. Bulletin*, No. 2699 (issued December 20, 1935), "If the client is unable to report to the project because of illness or other emergencies and if he should notify the district office, stating that he expects to be able to report in about two weeks, the district office should forward a memorandum to W.P.A. . . . If the illness or emergency is of prolonged nature so that the client will not, in all probability, be able to report for work in about two weeks, he should be told to report to the district office after he is able to go to work. The case-worker in the meantime should prepare a form, F.E.R.A. 601, to prevent assignment until the client is again able to go to work. When the client is able to go to work, the case-worker should again prepare a form F.E.R.A. 601, to reinstate the client's eligibility."

after discharge this patient will be unable to withstand any strenuous physical exertion." He was certified with no mention of this and on 11-15-35 he was assigned as a laborer and again on 2-12-36 he was assigned but did not report to either job. A cancellation was sent in on 2-28-36.

In spite of having active tuberculosis, Mr. Evans was assigned as a laborer on 12-20-35 and again on 2-14-36. He did not report for either job. He died in April, 1936. The certification did not mention his physical condition and a cancellation was sent in in July, 1936, four months after he had died.

Alden Colwell, aged thirty-three, only son of aged parents, with no siblings, was assigned as a laborer but did not report as he had temporary employment.

Helen Cline, age twenty-one, was assigned on 2-18-36 but since she had a job at that time at a 5- and 10-cent store she did not report. She plans to be married soon; because of family problems the case was never closed for relief.

Mr. Nowicki was assigned on 12-21-35 as a laborer but since he had a part-time job which he thought might work into a full-time job he did not report.

Mr. Carnes, age fifty-one, was certified and assigned on 10-26-35 but at that time he was in a hospital with carcinoma of the rectum. A son Harry, twenty-four years old, was working, so Carl, age twenty-two, was certified. He was assigned as a laborer but because he had secured temporary work he did not report. The certification was cancelled, and the case was closed on 1-9-36. Then both sons lost their jobs, and the case was reopened on 3-5-36 and Carl was recertified.

Samuel Adams, age twenty-one, was certified and assigned as a laborer. He had left home to look for work before the assignment came and has never returned. He had a mother and four sisters and one brother, all younger than he.

Although ninety years old, Mr. Dunn was certified and assigned as a laborer at \$55. He did not report and a short time later his certification was cancelled.

Mr. Adams was assigned on 2-21-36 as a laborer but due to his age, seventy-five years, and his slight lameness from an old leg fracture, he did not report.

Although Mr. Bell is a musician, he was certified with no mention of this. He was assigned as a laborer and refused to do manual labor.

Mr. Caynel is a union steamfitter and was certified with the request that he be assigned to a job that would enable him to use his trade. He was assigned as a laborer but did not report as he was afraid it would jeopardize his union standing.

Mr. Bodke deserted his family, so Mrs. Bodke was certified but did not report as she had no one with whom to leave her two children, ages seven and three.

As Mrs. Eyres was a helpless invalid and Mr. Eyres was too feeble to help her, it fell to Joseph, a thirty-one-year-old son, to care for her. Consequently he did not accept any of his three assignments to W.P.A.

Mr. Barnes, twenty-four years old, was assigned on 10-29-35 as a laborer and on 12-3-35 as a game-room leader but did not report either time. He

has always refused to support his wife and son and lived with them only when he was out of work. As he would have been required to support them with his W.P.A. wages he took a job which paid him only \$3.00 a week. The budget was made for only Mrs. Barnes and the son.

Mrs. Layne was assigned to a typing job but did not report since she did not know how to type. She was not certified as a typist and stenographer.

Mr. Miller is blind and was certified with the request that he be placed on a project for the handicapped. He received an assignment as a laborer but did not report.

Turning now to the analysis of those who accepted their W.P.A. assignments and reported for work, we will consider first the group of seventy-six persons who were rejected immediately upon reporting and therefore experienced no change in relief status. Of these, seventy-one were rejected on the grounds of illness and five because of old age. Among the seventy-one cases rejected because of illness, there were four individuals who had some kind of physical infirmity. One had an artificial leg, another had to walk with a cane, and two wore braces in order to walk.

The following five case illustrations are typical of the situations in which illness and old age were the reasons the assignees were rejected upon reporting to W.P.A. work.

Mr. Kall, forty-six years old, was assigned to a laborer's job on 11-27-35 but was rejected as unfit due to "inguinal hernia, hemorrhoids, cortic stenosis, mitral insufficiency, and cardiac hypertrophy."

Mr. Slavik, forty-three years old was assigned as a laborer but was rejected. He was shell shocked and is subject to fainting spells.

Mr. Bayne, age fifty-one, was struck by an automobile in 1929 and had both legs severely injured so that he has to walk with a cane. This was not indicated in his certification. He was assigned as a laborer but was rejected.

Mr. Byres, seventy-four years old, was assigned as a laborer but was not accepted. He died of a heart attack two months after his assignment.

Mr. Boman, seventy-four years old, was certified on 8-17-35 with no notation as to his condition. An entry in the record of 2-3-33 states that "Mr. Boman has been tubercular for 20 years and has only one lung." The work-relief examination showed "stomach trouble, slight hypertension, right inguinal hernia," and classified him as senile. He reported but was rejected as "physically unfit."

This brings us to the group of 342 persons who reported and who actually did some work. In this group 17 men and women who

worked less than a full pay period all had to resign because of illness. The length of time they worked before resigning is given in the accompanying data.

Length of Time	No.
One day.....	2
Three days.....	2
Four days.....	2
Six days.....	1
Eleven days.....	1
Thirteen days.....	1
Fourteen days.....	3
Less than a week*.....	1
A few days*.....	4
Total .....	17

\*The exact number of days was not known in 5 of the 17 cases, hence the terms indicating the indefinite periods as stated in the records are used.

The facts as to four of these cases show the kinds of illnesses that caused resignation from W.P.A.

Mr. Knight, sixty years old, was assigned as a laborer but had to quit work because of rheumatism. His certification was canceled and his son, twenty years old, was certified but was never assigned.

Edward Banes, seventeen years old, was certified and assigned as a laborer. There was a statement in the record from a physician saying that he was able to do only light work but this was not mentioned on the certification. He worked only three days, when he had to stop.

Mr. Crane, forty-six years old, was assigned as a laborer but suffered a hernia within a few days and had to quit.

Mr. Dion, forty-four years old, was assigned as a laborer on 11-13-35. In spite of the doctor's warning concerning his inoperable inguinal hernia, he accepted and tried to work for two weeks, when he was forced to stop.

Considering next the 325 individuals who worked for a full pay period of two weeks or more, we are concerned first with the reasons supplementary relief was given to 225 while they were working on W.P.A. Table 3 shows that in 144, or 64 per cent of these 225 cases, the W.P.A. wage provided was inadequate to meet the needs of the large families of the workers. In another 21 per cent of the cases the losses due to illness of both the worker and other members of the family as well as cost of medical care necessitated supplementa-

tion.<sup>8</sup> There were two who lost time because they were not immediately reassigned after work on a project ended.

TABLE 3  
REASONS FOR GIVING SUPPLEMENTARY RELIEF WHILE ON W.P.A.

	No.	Per Cent
Large families . . . . .	144	64.0
Illness . . . . .	47	20.9
Combination of illness and size of family . . . . .	21	9.3
Wages not used to support family . . . . .	4	1.8
Loss of time . . . . .	2	0.9
Combination of illness, size of family, and loss of time . . . . .	2	0.9
Loss of time and alcoholism . . . . .	1	0.4
Not reported . . . . .	4	1.8
Total . . . . .	225	100.0

Illustrations of the situations that made supplementary relief necessary for persons working on W.P.A. are given below:

Mr. Hjimar, fifty years of age, was assigned to a laboring job on 11-25-35 but did not accept because he was ill with sciatica. He was reassigned a month later and accepted. There are seven children in the family ranging in ages from twenty to four years of age, so that supplementary aid was needed.

Mr. Bindman, twenty-six years old, was assigned as a laborer although all of his experience had been clerical. Owing to Mrs. Bindman's pregnancy, the case was not closed on assignment to W.P.A. There were two children, ages six and four.

Mr. Bond was assigned as a laborer. The case was kept open for supplementary aid in order to help with a special diet needed by Mrs. Bond for gastric ulcer.

Mr. Crane was assigned as a laborer on 11-15-35. The case was closed and then was reopened since he was using most of his earnings for liquor. He would come to the office intoxicated and insist that he never "touched the stuff." Relief for his wife and children was necessary.

Mr. Dreyfuss, forty years old, was assigned as a laborer. His family was given supplementary assistance as he lost time from work and spent much of his money on liquor.

Mr. Smiley, twenty-eight years old, was assigned as a laborer. Relief was given, although he had only two small children, two and four years old, because he became progressively less willing to support the family and remained away from home more and more frequently. Finally Mrs. Smiley refused to let him come home at all.

<sup>8</sup> *I.E.R.C. Bulletin*, No. 2699 (issued December 20, 1935), states that "if after accepting assignment the client reports to the district office that he is greatly in need of assistance in the way of fuel, clothing or medical care, because his wage is insufficient . . . , the office may give him supplementary assistance.

In the group of 325 cases who worked a full pay period or more, there were 131 who stopped working on W.P.A. and were restored to full direct relief before this survey was started. Referring to the summary given below, it will be noted that 38 of these 131 persons received supplementary relief before leaving W.P.A. The reasons for giving supplementary relief in these 38 cases have already been considered. There were 93 others who had not received supplementary assistance while working on W.P.A. but were restored to full relief after they stopped working on W.P.A.

Worked for full pay period or longer.....	325
1. Supplementation given .....	225
a) Restored to full direct relief.....	38
b) Not yet restored to full relief.....	187
2. Supplementation not given.....	100
a) Restored to full relief later.....	93
b) Not restored to relief (service only).....	7

In Table 4 the reasons for restoring 131 men to full direct relief are given. We note that illness again constitutes a major factor

TABLE 4  
REASONS FOR RESTORING CASES TO FULL DIRECT RELIEF

Reasons	No Supple- mentation While on W.P.A.	Supplementa- tion While on W.P.A.	Total No.	Per Cent
Stopped work due to illness.....	33	13	46	35.1
Project ended.....	17	12	29	22.1
Stopped work due to old age.....	9	1	10	7.6
Discharged—work unsatisfactory.....	7	0	7	5.4
Wages not used to support family.....	7	7	14	10.7
Accepted private work which was temporary.....	5	1	6	4.6
Worker left family.....	4	1	5	3.8
Assignment came too late.....	0	1	1	.8
Would not accept transfer of work.....	0	2	2	1.5
Combination of above.....	1	0	1	.8
Not reported.....	10	0	10	7.6
Total.....	93	38	131	100.0

accounting for 35.1 per cent of the cases while the fact that the projects ended was the reason for restoring 29 persons, or 22.1 per cent of the 131, to full relief.

The reasons for restoring cases to full direct relief are indicated in the following illustrations.

Mr. Lain, fifty-four years old, was assigned as a laborer but was transferred several times in an attempt to find a position which he could fill; he has carcinoma of the rectum. He was finally laid off.

Mr. Renald, forty-three years of age, was laid off after working a month because he was unable to do even a flagman's work, due to hernia.

Mr. Pyres, was assigned as a laborer but when the project ended after working six months he was not reassigned.

Mr. Payne, age seventy-six, worked as a laborer on W.P.A. for three months but was laid off because of his age.

Mr. Holmes worked as a laborer for three months and then was laid off because of insubordination. He claims that this was not true, that he was laid off to be assigned to a project nearer home. He was later assigned to a project in which streets were to be macadamized. He knew nothing about this work.

A twenty-three old son who had his father to support was discharged because he "loafed on the job."

Mr. Zane worked for seven months and did not receive supplementary aid, but after he deserted his family the case was reopened.

Mr. Thomas was assigned as a laborer and worked a short time when he quit to take a private job which only lasted two months and then had to reapply for aid.

Ned Donahue, eighteen years old, left home a few days before the assignment slip came so was not present to take the job.

A son, twenty-four years old, who had his parents to support, worked as an enumerator for five months and at that time his father reapplied for assistance saying that his son had married and left home.

Because of change of address the assignment slip did not reach the assignee, Mr. Adams, in time to report for the job. He has not been reassigned.

There remain seven of the 550 W.P.A. cases, which were kept open because service was considered necessary. Analyzing the reasons for keeping them open, we find the following reasons which the case-workers thought indicated the need of continuing supervision:

Assignee deaf, might not be able to continue working.....	1
Housekeeping service needed.....	1
Assignee (age twenty-seven) caring for parents and family might need additional assistance because of the size of family .....	1
Another large family (parents and five children) kept open pending possible need for additional assistance.....	1
Emotional instability of assignee .....	1
Not reported .....	2

It is interesting to note here that with the exception of the one case which needed a housekeeper the service really consisted of observation, for, according to the case-work records, no actual service was performed. This procedure seems to have been adopted as a method of avoiding closing cases that would probably have to be reopened very soon for supplementary or full direct relief.

This prepares us for the more general discussion of why the 550 cases of persons assigned to W.P.A. were active at the time of this

TABLE 5

## SUMMARY OF REASONS FOR CASES OF 550 W.P.A. ASSIGNEES BEING ACTIVE

Reason	No.	Per Cent
Illness and cost of medical care .....	227	41.2
Size of family.....	145	26.3
Old age.....	25	4.5
Accepted private work—became temporary.....	26	4.7
Assignee could not leave home.....	3	.5
Project ended.....	17	3.1
Late assignment.....	16	3.0
Wages not used to support family.....	13	2.3
Discharged—work unsatisfactory.....	7	1.3
W.P.A. work would affect trade or professional status..	4	.7
Worker left home (not head of family).....	4	.7
Loss of time.....	2	.4
Not qualified for W.P.A. job.....	2	.4
Combination of above.....	30	5.5
Not reported .....	29	5.4
Total.....	550	100.0

study. Table 5 indicates that illness (227 cases or 41.2 per cent) and the size of the family (145 or 26.3 per cent) accounted for 67.5 per cent of the cases. Other important reasons were old age (25 cases or 4.5 per cent) and employment in private work (26 cases or 4.7 per cent), which proved to be temporary. It will be noted that termination of the projects accounted for the return to relief of only 17, or 3.1 per cent, which seems very low considering the fact that of the total of 550 persons assigned to W.P.A. only 194 were working at the time the study was made, leaving 356 who had terminated their connections with W.P.A. in some way.<sup>9</sup>

<sup>9</sup> At this point in our discussion it will be of value to describe accurately the nature of the certification policy for W.P.A. In answer to the question as to who was eligible

Having thus discussed the reasons for the W.P.A. cases being active at the time this study was made, it is important and of interest to consider some of the characteristics of this group of 550 individuals.

It is evident from Table 6 that the assignees were fairly well distributed throughout the various age groups—a situation which one might have expected to find even in a more thoroughly representative sample of W.P.A. cases as a whole. Of special significance are those sixty-five persons, or 11.8 per cent of the total, who were sixty years of age or over, and more particularly the thirty-eight persons, or 7 per cent, over sixty-five years of age.

The fact also that twenty-one persons, or 3.8 per cent, were over seventy years of age is noteworthy, since one would not ordinarily consider that W.P.A. offered work opportunities appropriate for the advanced-age group.

It is important to bear in mind, however, that this sample is not representative of the W.P.A. group as a whole and doubtless contains a much larger proportion of persons over sixty-five years of age

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for certification we note that according to the *I.E.R.C. Bulletin*, No. 2482 (issued August 5, 1935), "all persons, male or female, who are receiving relief on the date of certification and who either received relief in May, 1935, or were accepted for relief subsequent to May, 1935, and are working or seeking work, and who are not currently serving sentence in a penal or correctional institution are eligible. These requirements for eligibility for employment are further qualified by the following: No person under the age of sixteen years and no one whose age or physical condition to the best of the case-worker's knowledge is such as to make his employment dangerous to his health or safety or to the health or safety of others may be employed on any work project. This shall not be construed to operate against employment of physically handicapped persons otherwise employed, when such persons may be safely assigned to work which they can ably perform."

The *Official Bulletin of the Chicago Relief Administration*, No. 159 (issued November 14, 1936), changes the eligibility requirements and states them somewhat more specifically. "Because eligibility no longer requires that the person was receiving relief between May 1, 1935, and May 31, 1936, all persons receiving relief since May 31, 1936, should be certified to W.P.A. at this time if otherwise eligible. . . . At this time only one person from an eligible family may be certified to W.P.A. That person should be able-bodied, seeking work, and have occupational qualifications that will make him adaptable to the current W.P.A. program. He should be the usual wage-earner for the family and should be over eighteen and under sixty-five years of age unless he is ineligible for old age assistance, and is unusually able physically or has particular training or skills that would warrant assignment to W.P.A."

than a representative sample would show. Nevertheless, the fact still remains that the case records did contain data which have indicated that the certification and assignment of many of this elderly group was inadvisable, and one cannot but conclude that decisions were not carefully made on an individualized basis.

TABLE 6

AGE OF 550 W.P.A. CASES STILL ON RELIEF		
Age	No.	Per Cent
Under 20.....	11	2.0
20-29.....	62	11.3
30-39.....	127	23.1
40-49.....	151	27.4
50-59.....	116	21.1
60-69.....	44	8.0
70-74.....	15	2.7
75 and over.....	6	1.1
Not reported.....	18	3.3
Total.....	550	100.0

As to the sex of the members of this sample, the study showed that twenty-one or 3.9 per cent were women, varying in age from nineteen to sixty-seven. The cases of the two women over sixty years of age have already been referred to in the discussion of the ages of the whole group.<sup>10</sup>

AGE OF TWENTY-ONE FEMALE W.P.A. ASSIGNEES

Age	No.
Under 20.....	1
20-29.....	4
30-39.....	6
40-49.....	4
50-59.....	4
60-69.....	2
Total.....	21

The data regarding the size of families included in this study are summarized in Table 7. The average number of persons per family

<sup>10</sup> According to *Official Bulletin of the Chicago Relief Administration*, No. 159 (issued November 14, 1936), "women whose only type of work experience has been that of manual labor, such as cleaning, scrubbing, and washing," should not be certified. "The existing W.P.A. projects for women with only manual labor experience are limited."

was 4.7, although the mode and median fell in the five-person category. One might have expected to discover an unusual propor-

TABLE 7

## SIZE OF 550 FAMILIES

No. Individuals per Family	No. Cases	No. Individuals Involved
1.....	47	47
2.....	65	130
3.....	61	183
4.....	84	336
5.....	95	475
6.....	71	426
7.....	68	476
8.....	28	224
9.....	15	135
10.....	11	110
11.....	3	33
12.....	1	13
13.....	1	15
Total.....	550	2,603

TABLE 8

## POSITION OF W.P.A. RECIPIENT IN FAMILY UNIT

Class	No.
Man with wife only.....	46
Man with minor children.....	237
Man with older children.....	38
Man with both minor and older children.....	116
Woman with husband and children.....	1
Woman with children.....	11
Single man.....	42
Single woman.....	5
Son.....	46
Daughter.....	3
Grandson.....	2
Brother.....	2
Sister.....	1
Total.....	550

tion of large families in this sample because this factor was one of the important elements which caused cases to be active at the time of this survey and because W.P.A. wage rates make it practically impossible for any but the smaller families to maintain themselves without supplementary relief.

Another significant factor is the position the person assigned to the W.P.A. occupied in the family. Of special interest in Table 8 is the group of fifty-one cases (9 per cent) in which either a son, daughter, or grandson was supposed to bear the responsibility for supporting the remainder of the family group through W.P.A. work. The advisability of expecting these individuals to turn over their entire earnings to the family budget is subject to question. The undesirable effects of placing such a financial burden upon the shoulders of the younger persons are indicated in the accompanying illustrations of actual case results.

#### ASSIGNMENT OF SONS TO W.P.A.

Let us first examine cases in which the sons were expected to shoulder the financial support of the family.

##### SONS LEFT THE HOME

Nine of the forty-six sons who were expected to support their families left home after working for a short time, and of this number five left home to be married and to establish their own households. The W.P.A. earnings were used for this purpose so that the parental group had to receive direct relief again. The remaining four left home, but it is not known where they went. One case record states that the twenty-three-year-old son worked from 10-2-35 to 1-7-36 and gave all his earnings to his parents and three brothers and sisters and that he left home because he was "discouraged since he couldn't buy clothing for himself."<sup>11</sup>

##### SONS IN CONFLICT WITH THE LAW

There were two sons in two different families who had to leave their W.P.A. jobs because they got into trouble and were sent to jail. One young man of twenty-nine was supporting his parents and twenty-year-old brother on his W.P.A. earnings of \$55 a month without supplementary assistance. He worked for three months and then got drunk and robbed a hardware store and was sentenced to jail for a year.

The other son was twenty-one years old and had a mother and five brothers and sisters, all younger, to support on his W.P.A. earnings of \$55 monthly. He was caught stealing and was sentenced to Joliet State Prison. He said that he wanted money for clothes and to entertain his "girl friend" as he had given all his earnings to his mother.

<sup>11</sup> Prior to November, 1936, it was the agency policy to allow a certain amount out of the earnings of children for their own personal use. However, this policy does not seem to have been followed in the cases that were read in this study. The budgets did not show any allowance for this purpose.

**SONS NOT ACCEPTING W.P.A. ASSIGNMENT FOR GOOD REASONS**

One son of thirty-nine who had aged parents but no siblings to support did not report for W.P.A. work because he was crippled with arthritis. Then there were two sons in different families who could not accept the W.P.A. assignments because they had to stay at home and care for invalid parents. Another son was unable to report for work because of the illness of his father.

There were five young men who had been certified for W.P.A. and had also been recommended for C.C.C. and were at camp when the W.P.A. assignment came through.<sup>12</sup>

Five young men had left home before the assignment for W.P.A. work was received in the home.

**SONS ACCEPTED W.P.A. WORK**

Two sons were recalled to positions they had previously held a short time after they started to work for W.P.A. Two others secured private work a few days after they started to work for W.P.A.

One son of thirty-eight years had only a father of eighty-one years to support. The son had an artificial leg. He was rejected when he reported for his first assignment because of this disability and he was later assigned as a guard. Owing to his father's age and the need for adequate medical service, full supplementary relief was given. The case-worker states that real therapy was accomplished on this case for the son was becoming "psychotic due to his crippled condition and due to having to care for his father who could not control his excretory functions." The son regained his self-confidence.

Another son of forty-six years was the sole support of his mother. Although he had a long history of illness, he was assigned as a watchman. He worked for a few weeks, when he became ill. He died shortly after with a "possible cancer."

The remaining fifteen sons all accepted their W.P.A. assignments and supported their families. In three families the fathers were too ill to work and in three others they were too old to work. In the other nine instances the sons were the sole supports of mothers and younger brothers and sisters.

Now let us examine the three cases in which the daughter was assigned to W.P.A.

**DAUGHTERS ASSIGNED TO W.P.A.**

Miss Adams, a daughter of nineteen years, was assigned as a housekeeper's aid at \$55 a month with which to support her mother and two brothers, ages eighteen and twenty-four, but was rejected at the project because she was too young.

Miss Knight, twenty-two years of age, was assigned as a wardrobe mistress at \$65 a month with which she was to support a mother and eight brothers and sisters. Supplementary aid was given regularly by the agency.

<sup>12</sup> This would seem to indicate inefficiency and laxity in handling the cases.

Miss Daniels, twenty-one years of age, received an assignment as penwoman of \$65 per month, on which amount she was supposed to support a mother and three younger brothers and sisters. However, she did not report because at the time she received the assignment she was employed on a temporary job. Full relief was continued for this case because there were a number of family problems and Miss Daniels was planning to get married soon.

The assignment of a group of twelve women with children raises questions as to the advisability of their having been certified at all.<sup>13</sup>

#### MOTHERS WITH CHILDREN ASSIGNED TO W.P.A.

The Seller family consists of Mrs. Seller, her husband, and three children, fourteen, ten, and fifteen years of age. Mr. Seller has active tuberculosis.<sup>14</sup> Mrs. Seller was assigned as a laborer at \$55 a month and she worked at "sacking sugar." She was assigned on 1-30-36 and a full budget was allowed until 2-22-36. Although this family did not formally request supplementary assistance, it was started on March 8, 1936, and since April of this year surplus foods have been given. According to the case-worker this seems like a well-adjusted family and doing the best to meet adverse conditions and were happy in doing it.

Mrs. Burns, age twenty-two, had a five-year-old son. She was assigned to W.P.A. and reported but she was rejected because a physical examination placed her in class C.

Mrs. Dodds, thirty-eight years old, was assigned to W.P.A. but she did not report because she has diabetes and was not able to work. She had two daughters seventeen and nineteen years of age.

Mrs. Layne, thirty-two years old, was assigned as a typist but she did not report for the job because she did not know how to type. She had not been certified as a typist.

There were two mothers, twenty-four and thirty-eight years old, whose husbands had deserted them. One had three small children and the other had two, but neither reported for work since they had no one with whom to leave their children.

<sup>13</sup> It is a generally accepted case-work principle that mothers with children should not be asked to work outside the home, on the theory that the children need their supervision. It is for this type of situation that the provisions for aid to mothers and to dependent children are needed and are included in the Social Security Act.

<sup>14</sup> According to the Cook County Relief Administration Memorandum of February 3, 1936, it had become obvious that the district offices had not corrected the certification for persons who "are obviously unemployable." Among the persons who are considered unemployable in this memo, are those with active tuberculosis. This case situation also brings up the additional point that according to the Chicago ordinance individuals with active tuberculosis may not remain in the same home with children under sixteen. It is not known whether or not the social worker in the relief agency or the health agency were trying to enforce this health precautionary measure.

Another woman, Mrs. Gough, thirty years old, was assigned as a laborer but did not report. The office wrote a letter calling attention to this error but to date she has not been reassigned.<sup>15</sup>

Mrs. Mason, a woman of thirty-four, has three children, ages eight, ten, and thirteen. She was assigned to a \$65-a-month job. She went to work and repeatedly requested the services of a housekeeper and medical care for the children, but neither was granted. The record states that it was decided that \$65 a month was sufficient to take care of her needs.

Mrs. Murphy, with a twelve-year-old son, was assigned to a W.P.A. job that took her away from the home all day. She supported the family on \$55 a month without supplementary assistance.

Finally, the type of work engaged in by these 550 persons is of interest although the results of this investigation are not significant as being representative of the kind of W.P.A. jobs as a whole. However, the large proportion of persons assigned as unskilled workers, 489, or 89 per cent, is typical of work opportunities on most W.P.A. projects. The fact that most of the workers were in the lowest level of wage payments (\$55 a month) is important since it is not adequate to take care of large families or of unpredictable expenditures such as an unexpected operation. The types of work to which these 550 people were assigned and the wage scale are indicated in Table 9.

#### SUMMARY

In conclusion it may be stated that there were 550 cases which had been assigned to W.P.A. and were still active in the one district relief office. In this group this study showed that many individuals had been certified and assigned to W.P.A. who were not qualified for work. This was the result, in many instances, of the failure to adhere to the instructions regarding certification and cancellation. Of the 132 who did not report for W.P.A. work, 57, or 43.2 per cent, were too ill, and 11, or 8.3 per cent, were too old to work. The relief records show that not by any stretch of the imagination can unwillingness to work be considered as a significant factor in explaining their failure to report for W.P.A. work.

<sup>15</sup> Again quoting from the *I.E.R.C. Bulletin*, No. 2699 (issued December 20, 1935), "If the district office knows that an assignment was made in error . . . that is, for example, a woman was assigned to work which could only be done by a man . . . a memorandum . . . will be sufficient to correct the error. . . ."

TABLE 9

## CLASSIFICATIONS OF WORK OF 550 W.P.A. ASSIGNEES

Type of Work	Rate of Pay Per Month	No.
Laborer.....	\$55	480
Handyman.....	55	1
Housekeeping aide.....	55	7
Recreation attendant.....	55	1
Safety guard.....	55	23
Seamstress*.....	55	1
Seamstress aide.....	55	1
Watchman.....	55	4
Attendant.....	65	1
Contact man.....	65	1
Educational worker.....	65	1
Junior clerk.....	65	1
Labor foreman.....	65	1
Penwoman.....	65	1
Recreation leader.....	65	1
Seamstress*.....	65	2
Shipping clerk.....	65	1
Traffic check clerk.....	65	1
Timekeeper*.....	65	1
Wardrobe mistress.....	65	1
Bookbinder.....	85	1
Community organizer.....	85	1
Draftsman.....	85	1
Enumerator.....	85	1
Timekeeper*.....	85	1
Actor.....	94	1
Musician.....	94	1
Skilled foreman.....	94	1
Typist.....	Not reported	2
Total.....		550

\* It is impossible to secure from the records a plausible explanation of the different wage rates. It is supposed that the work actually done was different, but the records did not indicate the difference.

Despite the fact that its original philosophy had been that W.P.A. work was to be thought of as a regular job, and relief for such workers would no longer be necessary, there was evidence that this theory did not apply in many instances. In this one district office in which 550 cases studied were still active, there were 225 who received supplementary assistance while actually working on W.P.A. And of this 225 there were 144 who received this extra grant because of the size of their families.

The assignment to W.P.A. of young people who were supposed to support their families on the W.P.A. wages and of old people also brings up the question as to the appropriate group to be considered for any type of relief work. The evidence assembled here indicates that neither the young nor the aged are particularly suitable for relief work under the kind of administration found in this study. Certainly more careful selection of persons who are physically able to work is needed as well as more thoughtful consideration of how much responsibility young people should be asked to assume for their families.

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## WORK RELIEF IN GREAT BRITAIN AND GERMANY

RUDOLF F. BERTRAM

**W**ITH the creation of the Federal Emergency Relief Administration in the spring of 1933, the launching of such large-scale work-relief undertakings as the C.W.A. and the W.P.A., and the appropriation of millions of dollars for the purpose of aiding the unemployed by providing work, work relief has become familiar to every American. The subject has gained a prominence unbelievable only a few years ago. It is realized by few, however, that work relief is not a creation of the recent depression but has been utilized for at least a century in different industrial countries, whenever unemployment became widespread.

There can be no doubt that, by knowing what has taken place before, we shall be able to understand more fully and to evaluate our recent experiments. So it is, therefore, that we shall try to trace, in the following pages, the developments in England and Germany—two of the nations in which, even before the depression in 1929, efforts were made to find means by which work relief might be used most effectively in combating the sufferings which accompany mass unemployment.

### GREAT BRITAIN

Even before the end of the eighteenth century unemployment became a serious problem in England and other industrial countries. An ever increasing development of machine manufacture, together with a change in methods of agricultural production, continuously eliminated the jobs of working groups who, unemployed and poor, threatened to become a menace to organized society. At the time the opinion prevailed that the displacement of workers was only a temporary evil, accompanying the transformation of production from hand to machine. It was believed that, before long, this process would be completed and that thereafter unemployment would be a thing of the past. To expedite the process of readjustment of the working force to the changed conditions of employment it was con-

sidered desirable to minimize public assistance. Lack of initiative, it was assumed, was largely responsible for the unemployed's failing to find a place in the changed productive process.

The suffering of the unemployed made it necessary, nevertheless, to offer public assistance.<sup>1</sup> The result was that, although relief was offered, the relief agencies established severe regulations, hoping thereby to force the unemployed to seek work in private industry.<sup>2</sup> Although there was fairly general agreement on the justification of this method of dealing with those unwilling to work, critics demanded that a distinction be made between vagrants and those involuntarily unemployed. To aid the latter, work camps were started by private individuals.<sup>3</sup> The purpose of these camps was to provide a livelihood for the unemployed workers and to teach them new trades.

The results were far short of the expectations. Entrance to most camps being limited to single persons, these camps tended to become resting places of vagrants rather than schools for the deserving unemployed.

Meanwhile new problems arose. Besides the load of technological unemployment, cyclical fluctuations made their appearance. Thus after the Napoleonic Wars, in the beginning of the nineteenth century, the nations plunged into a depression, resulting in widespread unemployment. It was at this time that Robert Owen, a famous English cotton manufacturer, proposed that:

To prevent the crime and misery which ever follow these unfavorable fluctuations in the demand for and value of labour, it ought to be a primary duty of every government that sincerely interests itself in the well-being of its

<sup>1</sup> The English Poor Law of 1601 made it mandatory upon parishes to provide work for their poor at the expense of those able to pay. The Prussian Common Law of 1794 declares it "the duty of the state to provide for the sustenance and support of those of its citizens who cannot procure subsistence themselves." Similar provisions were in existence in most countries.

<sup>2</sup> Napoleon in 1807 ordered all vagrants to be thrown into jail and beggars put into beggar depots (Georg Adler, *Über die Aufgaben des Staates angesichts der Arbeitslosigkeit* [Tübingen, 1894], p. 23). England in 1834 abandoned outdoor relief.

<sup>3</sup> General von den Bosh, a Dutchman, was the pioneer in this field. Proposals for such co-operative undertakings had been made already in the seventeenth century (Paul Meyer, *Die Notstandsarbeiten und ihre Probleme* [Jena: Gustav Fischer, 1913], p. 7). The example of von den Bosh was followed in various countries.

subjects, to provide perpetual employment of real natural utility, in which all who apply may be immediately occupied.<sup>4</sup>

This was a demand for work relief, for, as the author proposed, in order to prevent those who might find private employment from entering such public works, the rate of wages ought to be somewhat less than in private employment.<sup>5</sup>

Owen, however, was not the originator of this idea. Already in 1786 Turgot, then French secretary of state, provided for the establishment of public works during the slack season in all provinces. Remuneration was in kind and at a rate low enough to discourage workers from taking undue advantage of these jobs.<sup>6</sup>

During the American Civil War the cotton weavers in Lancashire were thrown out of employment because of lack of raw materials. Under the Public Works Act money was provided at low interest rates, and hundreds of men were given employment on useful public construction projects.<sup>7</sup> Other instances of relief works were to be found during this period, generally sponsored by various private local agencies trying to mix charity and labor with the usual result of "great abuse and demoralization."<sup>8</sup> Of course, fear as frequently as public interest was the incentive of these undertakings, for, as one writer points out, "with thousands of unemployed the danger of disturbing the public peace is very real, especially since those least fitted and with the lowest morale are the first to be unemployed."<sup>9</sup>

Meanwhile, increased division of labor presented new problems. During certain seasons of the year, especially during the winter months, large numbers joined the ranks of the unemployed. Labor

<sup>4</sup> Robert Owen, *A New View of Society* (3d ed.; London: Longman & Brown, 1817), p. 177.

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>6</sup> George S. Rabinovitch, *Contribution à l'étude du chômage et de son indemnisation* (Heidelberg: Paul Braus, 1922), p. 57.

<sup>7</sup> Great Britain, Board of Trade, *Report on Agencies and Methods for Dealing with the Unemployed* (London: Eyre & Spottiswoode, 1893), pp. 394-96.

<sup>8</sup> Sidney Webb (ed.), *Public Organization of the Labour Market, Minority Report of the Poor Law Commission* (London: Longmans, Green & Co., 1909), p. 104.

<sup>9</sup> Paul Hartmann and Rudolf Schwander, *Die Einrichtung von Notstandsarbeiten und ihre Erfolge, "Schriften des deutschen Vereins für Armenpflege und Wohlthatigkeit,"* Heft 58 (Leipzig: Duncker & Humblot, 1902), p. 2.

unions tried to overcome this evil by establishing their own insurance funds, but, while successful to some extent, especially in the skilled trades, the results were by no means adequate.

As a result, statesmen, social workers, and economists debated the possibilities of making work relief the cornerstone of unemployment relief. In 1886, Chamberlin, president of the English Local Government Board, issued a circular urging the local governments to undertake relief work.<sup>10</sup> This action was the result not only of a realization on the part of statesmen that the existing agencies were inadequate to deal with unemployment but also of the refusal on the part of the workers generally to apply for aid at the existing poor-relief agencies.

The next two decades offered extensive possibilities for testing the value of work relief. Industrial depressions and technological changes aided in increasing the ranks of those who, each year, were thrown out of employment because of seasonal fluctuations. Almost every winter the local governments organized relief works to aid the unfortunate. In the execution of their duties the local authorities had two alternatives. Either they could employ the men on projects which would normally be undertaken with the regular force in the near future, or they could provide more or less useless "made" work. As a matter of fact, both types were made use of.

But the results were very unsatisfactory. Organized labor objected to the diverting of useful works into relief projects, arguing that this resulted in the creation of additional unemployment among those usually employed on such work. It strengthened its argument by pointing out the absurdity of such methods which resulted in having men experienced on particular work walking the streets in search of employment, while those who were ill-fitted for the task were carrying on the work at lower-than-standard rates of pay but nevertheless at excessive cost to the community. To quote one writer on the subject:

The sea-walling done by London unemployed in 1906 at Fambridge was extravagantly costly and the work very inefficiently done. There were Essex labourers in the vicinity, accustomed, as they say, to "handling the muck,"

<sup>10</sup> Harry A. Millis, "Social Insurance in Great Britain" (unpublished manuscript), pp. 54-55.

unemployed themselves, and refused a share in making up their own sea-wall because it was to be done by London registered men.<sup>11</sup>

or again:

To relieve the unemployed by the provision of work for which they are more or less unfit is economically unsound, and to give a body of men, because they are less efficient but have become distressed, work of public utility at the expense of the community is grossly unfair to the ordinary workman who would otherwise be called in to do it.<sup>12</sup>

As a result of such criticism a parliamentary committee as early as 1896 stated that there is "no sufficient reason why a person employed upon relief works should not receive the rate of wages current in the district if he is able to earn the same."<sup>13</sup> To give the men employed a chance to prove their ability to earn the same, the committee recommended that piecework be established, while, to preserve an incentive to return to regular employment, "the hours of labour upon relief works should be considerably shorter than the ordinary working hours per week in independent employment."<sup>14</sup> With regard to the "made" work (stone-breaking, etc.) the minority report of the Poor Law Commission stated:

This monotonous and toilsome work, uneducational and brutalizing even to the unskilled labourer, was found to be seriously deteriorating to the unemployed clerk or skilled artisan, and was bitterly resented by them as degrading. Work, whenever men are taken on because they are unemployed, and are not picked out and engaged at wages in the ordinary way because they are the best available men to execute the task that is required for its own sake, was invariably found to be enervating and demoralizing.<sup>15</sup>

Intimidation of those willing to do their best by the "professional" unemployed was often successful because "the foremen, conscious that the work had no commercial basis, were found sometimes to be themselves slack, and unwilling to bring their jobs to an end."<sup>16</sup>

<sup>11</sup> Cyril Jackson, *Unemployment and Trade Unions* (London: Longmans, Green & Co., 1910), pp. 13-14.

<sup>12</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 20.

<sup>13</sup> Great Britain, Parliament, *Report from the Select Committee on Distress from Want of Employment* (London: Eyre & Spottiswoode, 1896), p. ix.

<sup>14</sup> *Ibid.*, p. xi.

<sup>15</sup> Sidney Webb (ed.), *op. cit.*, pp. 128-29.

<sup>16</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 129.

Other difficulties arose. Although created to aid those thrown out of employment until they might return to permanent industrial employment, these undertakings attracted to a large degree the casual laborer. The result was twofold. First, it aided to turn these relief works, intended to be used only during periods of exceptional distress, into annually recurring undertakings; while, second, it tended to aggravate rather than to reduce casual employment. Means were employed to eliminate the undeserving, but such methods as the introduction of piecework proved a bar to those whom it was intended to aid rather than to the undesirable element, since the former were usually least fit physically to perform the work provided.

The minority of the Poor Law Commission, after an extensive survey, concluded:

. . . twenty years' experience has proved that it is not practicable in ordinary times to disentangle these cases of temporary unemployed from those of respectable men who are chronically Unemployed or Underemployed; with the result that any work at wages afforded by Local Authorities as a method of providing for the Unemployed tends to become chronic, and, instead of being confined to the men thrown out of definite situations by the accidental and temporary dislocation of industry, is, in practice, participated in by those who are chronically Unemployed or Underemployed, to an even greater extent than by those for whom it was intended.<sup>17</sup>

And further:

. . . work at wages, given to the Unemployed by Local Authorities for a few days or a few weeks at a time, tends, like the opening of a Labour Yard by the Board of Guardians, actually to promote the disastrous Underemployment characteristic of some industries, and positively encourages employers and employed to acquiesce in intermittent employment and causal jobs, instead of regular work at definite weekly wages.<sup>18</sup>

The failure of the public works scheme on the basis of its operation during the past eighteen years was realized, but not the hope that something could be done. As a result, in 1905 Parliament passed the Unemployed Workmen Act.

The main provisions of the Act, as summarized by Professor Millis, were:

<sup>17</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 160.

<sup>18</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 160-61.

- (1) To establish, take over, or assist labor exchanges or unemployment registries and to collect information on the condition of labor in each area;
- (2) to assist unemployed persons to emigrate, or to migrate to places where definite situations could be found; (3) to provide or arrange for the provision of temporary work for carefully investigated and selected applicants; and (4) to establish and conduct farm colonies.<sup>19</sup>

The aim to give temporary assistance to a group of carefully selected worthy unemployed only was the basis of the Act.<sup>20</sup> In order to prevent the inclusion of all but the highest type of unemployed, rigid restrictions were set up. To quote Professor Millis:

The Act permitted the acceptance of applications from only those who had resided in a district for twelve months, who were honestly desirous of employment, but who from causes over which they had no control were temporarily unable to obtain it, and whose cases were capable of more suitable treatment under the Act than under the Poor Law.<sup>21</sup>

These principles were supplemented by the Local Government Board rules "that the applicant should be of good character, had, for a prescribed time, not been in receipt of poor relief, and was not possessed of sufficient means to maintain himself and his dependents."<sup>22</sup> In addition, the Board advised the local committees "to give special preference to those applicants (1) who had been regularly employed, of good conduct and thrifty, (2) who had wife, child or other dependents, and (3) who in respect to age and physical condition were qualified to work."<sup>23</sup>

Were these rules adequate to prevent all but the most desirable of the unemployed to come under the jurisdiction of the Act? Theoretically they were, but in fact the numberless workers for whom no

<sup>19</sup> Millis, *op. cit.*, p. 66.

<sup>20</sup> It appears that, in making this provision, the sponsors of the Act were guided by the successful Lancashire experiment in 1863, where, while the majority of the unemployed were supported by direct relief, a carefully selected group was given employment on public improvement projects.

Since 1903 a private organization in London had experimented with the colony plan along the lines proposed under the Act, while in 1904 the Metropolitan Guardians of London devised a plan for giving special aid to "those who were temporarily distressed owing to inability to obtain employment," while the remainder were "regarded as ordinary applicants for poor-law relief" (W. H. Beveridge, *Unemployment: A Problem of Industry* [London: Longmans, Green & Co., 1931], p. 161).

<sup>21</sup> Millis, *op. cit.*, p. 67.

<sup>22</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>23</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 68.

provision had been made under the Unemployed Workmen Act, and whose distress was dealt with through no other channels, made the execution an impossibility.

The organization of employment offices was neglected in most communities. Assistance in emigration or migration was, of necessity, possible in only a small number of cases, the latter being retarded because of the failure to establish employment offices in various sections of the nation. Farm colonies were established in different districts, but they presented several difficulties. Conducted on a small scale, the cost was excessively high, since, besides providing for those sent to these colonies, their families had to be assisted at home. On the other hand, where they were conducted on a large scale, the results were little more successful than had been the local relief works which they were, in part, to supplant.

The most important work of the Distress Committees turned out to be the providing of temporary employment. Overrun by unemployed persons requesting assistance, the restrictions set up to guard against the selection of all but the highest type were generally disregarded. As a result, the work-relief activities were a repetition of the type carried on in previous years. In London, according to Beveridge, at least 80 per cent of those assisted were drawn from "typical casual groups of occupations."<sup>24</sup> In other districts the results were similar.

One of the objections to work relief before 1905 was the employment of workers on a part-time basis, as this was held to be largely responsible for the unproductivity of the work undertaken.<sup>25</sup> The continuation of this policy became necessary, however, since, in order to create an inducement for those employed on such projects to return to regular industrial employment, the Local Government Board ordered they "should earn less than would be earned by an unskilled labourer"<sup>26</sup> in normal employment. This policy, devised for those who were normally in steady employment in private industry, lost its significance, since a large number of those employed were individuals "accustomed to casual earnings" and therefore

<sup>24</sup> Beveridge, *op. cit.*, p. 173.

<sup>25</sup> *Public Organization of the Labour Market*, p. 123.

<sup>26</sup> Beveridge, *op. cit.*, p. 175.

"obtained from Distress Committees either a regularity of employment and weekly income far above their average, or a succession of casual jobs exactly corresponding to their tastes."<sup>27</sup>

The report of the Royal Commission in 1909 revealed the failure of the Distress Committees to cope with the problem of temporary unemployment. In its conclusion the Commission said:

We regret to state that our investigations point to the conclusion that the relief given was frequently unsuitable and inadequate and that its effects were often pernicious.

The relief works carried on by Municipal Authorities and by Distress Committees under the Unemployed Workmen Act have in certain instances been successful in reaching the class for whom they were intended. In the vast majority of cases, however, they have perpetuated a system of able-bodied relief reproducing some of the bad features of the methods in force before 1834, which the commission of that date so vigorously condemned.<sup>28</sup>

The question of financial responsibility was inevitably discussed at an early date. Following the circular of the Local Government Board in 1894, there was some demand that the national government should meet part of the expense of such relief undertakings. On this question the Parliamentary Committee of 1896 concluded, after its investigation, that

sufficient reason could rarely be shown for the application of state moneys toward meeting the cost of relief works undertaken in any district. If such works are necessary for the district or for its advantage, there is no reason why their cost should not be defrayed exclusively out of local funds.<sup>29</sup>

To assure quick action in time of distress the Committee recommended that state loans be granted and that requests for such "should be dealt with promptly."<sup>30</sup> Parliament was no less reluctant toward state aid in 1905, when it passed the Unemployed Workmen Act. It provided that the funds necessary to carry out the provisions of the Act be met by voluntary subscription, while administrative expenses might be defrayed from local tax funds.

<sup>27</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 187.

<sup>28</sup> Great Britain, *Report of the Royal Commission on the Poor Laws and Relief of Distress*, II (reprinted from *Parliamentary Papers of Session 1909*) (London: Eyre & Spottiswoode, 1909), 230.

<sup>29</sup> *Report from Select Committee on Distress from Want of Employment* (London: H. M. Stationery Office, 1896), p. xi.

<sup>30</sup> *Ibid.*

It was for only one year, however, that voluntary subscriptions were solely relied upon, as already in 1906 Parliament, realizing the inadequacy of such provision, made a £20,000 grant, followed annually by similar appropriations. Thereby the long-debated question of national responsibility for unemployment relief was at last established. As we have seen, however, work relief failed both as a purely local method and as a scheme organized in co-operation with national agencies.

Nevertheless, it was acknowledged that unemployment would remain to be a problem, for as Beveridge stated, "Unemployment . . . is to some extent at least part of the price of industrial competition—part of the waste without which there could be no competition at all."<sup>31</sup> In order to lessen this waste, "the supply of labour must be made immeasurably more capable of following and waiting for the demand."<sup>32</sup> This conviction was shared by many, and as a result Parliament in 1909 passed the Labour Exchange Act, thereby enabling labor to follow the demand more systematically; while two years later, in 1911, the Unemployment Insurance Act was passed in an effort to aid deserving unemployed to wait for a demand for their labor.

Thus Great Britain's experiment with work relief ended, leaving nothing more than disappointing experiences. In the post-war years work relief was again resorted to, but, in contrast to other countries which undertook extensive experiments with work relief, England considered it as a supplement to its unemployment insurance scheme, to be used only as a last alternative.

#### WORK RELIEF IN GERMANY

##### DEVELOPMENTS BEFORE THE WORLD WAR

Germany was somewhat slower than some of its neighboring countries in its industrial development. Nevertheless, by the middle of the nineteenth century, industrial unemployment had become a distinct problem. During the political and economic crisis of 1848–50, while a congress of liberal elements was assembled in Frankfurt to work out a constitution for a united German nation, the unemployed in Berlin and other large centers demonstrated before public author-

<sup>31</sup> Beveridge, *op. cit.*, p. 235.

<sup>32</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 236.

ties demanding work instead of doles. Thirty-five years later, in 1884, Bismarck before the German Reichstag declared his unconditional support of the principle of the "right to work," basing his defense upon the Prussian common law.<sup>33</sup>

The next period of widespread unemployment came with the industrial depression of 1892-94. As yet comparatively few cities provided work relief for the large numbers of unemployed, although in some municipalities relief work was provided annually during the winter months for its idle workers.<sup>34</sup> As a result of the alarming situation during these years and the increasing demand on the part of the unemployed for work, the Prussian minister of the interior in 1894 issued a circular urging municipal governments to arrange their public works so as to make possible the employment of worthy unemployed persons in periods of widespread unemployment.<sup>35</sup>

At the beginning of this century unemployment again increased rapidly after a few relatively prosperous years. Again the cities were faced with the problem of assistance. As a result of extensive discussion of the merits of work relief, together with the threat of public disturbances, the response was greater than in earlier years. Possibly the rapid increase in trade-union strength and the advances made by the socialist movement were to no small extent responsible for the increased use of work relief. But whatever the reasons may have been, a survey made in 1903 disclosed that, in most industrial centers, at least part of the unemployed population had been put to work. The results of this survey and of a similar study made by the Division of Labor Statistics of the National Government<sup>36</sup> disclosed the fact that the work undertaken in Germany differed little from that in Great Britain. Pick-and-shovel work and rock-crushing were the most common types of employment.

Various restrictions were placed upon eligibility, differing from city to city. It was found, however, that the requirements were free

<sup>33</sup> William H. Dawson, *Bismarck and State Socialism* (London: S. Sonnenschein & Co., 1890), p. 35.

<sup>34</sup> Hartmann and Schwander, *op. cit.*, p. 3.

<sup>35</sup> I. Jastrow, *Sozialpolitik und Verwaltungswissenschaft* (Berlin: G. Reimer, 1902), p. 242.

<sup>36</sup> See *Die Regelung der Notstandsarbeiten in den Deutschen Städten*, "Bearbeitet im Kaiserlichen Statistischen Amt" (Berlin: Carl Heymanns, 1905).

from the influence of poor-relief regulations, a tendency which had for some time been advocated by both labor and progressive administrators.<sup>37</sup> The determination of wage rates presented considerable problems. At an early stage students of unemployment attacked the existing policy. One states:

To prevent excessive requests, the policy of paying very low wages has often been resorted to. This method appears to be most dubious, not alone from the moral point of view, by capitalizing on the distress of the workers to pay for his work below its value, but also because inadequate payment will do little to alleviate the distress.<sup>38</sup>

Moreover, it was found that frequently the margin between the minimum of existence and the prevailing wage rate for common labor was very narrow.<sup>39</sup> The result was that, while in most cities the rate was somewhat below the prevailing rate, in some instances relief workers were paid above the minimum. Some cities tried to overcome the problem by paying a basic rate somewhat below the prevailing rates and giving supplements to those with large families.

As in England, the German cities reported that the work undertaken was very expensive. One city spent 89 per cent more than would have been necessary if the work had been carried on under normal conditions.<sup>40</sup> For all cities reporting, the average additional cost was about 39 per cent.<sup>41</sup> Several reasons were given for the excessive cost: (1) many workers were not fit for the work undertaken; (2) most work would normally be done during a warmer season; (3) as little machinery as possible was being used; (4) adequate supervision was lacking; (5) the work-shy often set the pace.<sup>42</sup> This last point was emphasized by many supervisors and seems to confirm the criticism of the British trade-unions that relief works were attracting primarily the casual workers.

In various instances efforts were made to overcome the influence of slackers by introducing piecework. It was found, however, that only

<sup>37</sup> Hartmann and Schwander, *op. cit.*, p. 12.

<sup>38</sup> John Shikowski, *Über Arbeitslosigkeit und Arbeitslosenstatistik* (Leipzig: Wilhelm Friedrich, 1894), p. 33.

<sup>39</sup> *Die Regelung der Notstandsarbeiten in den Deutschen Städten*, p. 79.

<sup>40</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 115. <sup>41</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>42</sup> Hartmann and Schwander, *op. cit.*, p. 18.

a few of the projects permitted piecework. Rock-breaking was the best suited for the purpose, but several cities realized the unfairness of expecting applicants not used to manual labor to compete with the typical common laborer.<sup>43</sup>

In spite of all these shortcomings no action was taken on the part of the national government to find better means of relieving unemployment, although the German government had been the leader in social legislation and its chancellor had, as early as 1884, assured the workers the right to work. Several reasons may explain this policy, or lack of policy. It was the landowning class which had forced upon industry the social legislation at the end of the nineteenth century in the hope of stopping the socialist movement. Their hopes failing they, together with the large industrialists, opposed further concessions to the workers as harmful to Germany's industrial development. Meanwhile, after 1903, production remained at a fairly high level until the outbreak of the World War with the exception of a recession in 1909. This reduced the demand for action. Thus the local governments had to cope with whatever unemployment occurred during this period.

The larger cities, meanwhile, being rather anxious to prevent the need for costly work-relief undertakings, introduced somewhat more planning in their public construction programs. As a result unemployment, usually becoming most burdensome during the winter season, was to some extent alleviated without resorting to the rather costly relief works.<sup>44</sup>

#### FURTHER EXPERIMENTATION AFTER 1918

With the close of the World War the threat of unemployment became alarming as millions of soldiers returned to their respective homes. The need of reorganizing industry for peacetime production brought fear that unemployment might for a considerable period be inevitable. As we look back over the period between 1918 and 1929, we find that, although no nation had perfectly clear sailing, Germany was engaged, probably more than any other country, in a constant struggle with unemployment and its accompanying problems.

<sup>43</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 15.

<sup>44</sup> Meyer, *op. cit.*, p. 14.

During the war German national, state, and local governments had been forced to abstain from normal public construction to the greatest possible extent. As a result of this there was after the close of the war a tremendous need for such construction.<sup>45</sup> The resulting demand was great, especially since the railroads as well as numerous public utilities are government owned and operated.

Another factor in the rapid development of work relief in post-war Germany was the fact that after the collapse of the monarchy the labor groups gained considerable influence over the affairs of the nation. This, together with the fact that already during the pre-war years the principle of social responsibility had received widespread recognition, exerted great influence upon the public authorities in facing the problem presented by unemployment. The readiness with which foreign investors, especially Americans, were willing to supply funds for the undertakings of the various governmental agencies, after the stabilization of the German mark in December, 1923, was of no small importance in the development of work relief.

The most influential factor, however, was the continued problem of unemployment with which the nation was confronted from the close of the war down into the recent depression. The emergency resulting from the demobilization of the army, which was quickly followed by a short period of intense activity in most nations, was overcome more slowly in Germany. The percentage of unemployment among trade-union members, which stood at 6.6 in 1919, fell to 1.9 in March, 1920, only to return to 6.0 in July of the same year.<sup>46</sup> By June, 1922, the figure had fallen again to 0.6, from which point it increased rapidly, and in December, 1923, 28.2 per cent of all union members were totally unemployed, and approximately 42 per cent more were working part time.

The establishment of a stable currency in December, 1923, brought a return in business activity, but by 1926 the nation was again in the grip of a severe depression. Meanwhile, industry under-

<sup>45</sup> A corresponding curtailment in private construction had taken place during the war, which resulted in the great activity during the post-war years up to 1923. Stimulated by the rapid decline of the value of money, private individuals and corporations put their available funds in producers' goods: factories, machinery, homes, etc.

<sup>46</sup> Figures from table in *Unemployment 1920-23* (International Labour Office, "Studies and Reports," Series C, No. 8 [Geneva, 1923]), p. 64.

went a period of rationalization and technical improvement with the result that the following two years, during which business experienced a fair degree of prosperity, brought little increase in employment. After this short boom collapsed in 1929, the figure for unemployment reached new heights, from which it has slowly receded during the last few years.

As we have already noted, the basis upon which the whole work-relief experiment in Germany rested was the recognition of social responsibility, which prompted the national government in 1919 to make funds available for the relief of the unemployed. Under the first decree the government offered a contribution to local governments of federal funds toward the cost of unemployment relief. While the federal contribution amounted to 50 per cent of expenditures, the states were compelled to provide an additional  $3\frac{1}{3}$  per cent.<sup>47</sup>

At this time no provision was made regarding work relief, but the following spring saw the establishment, under the ministry of labor, of an agency charged with the promotion of such work as seemed profitable from the standpoint of public economy for those cared for through public relief.<sup>48</sup> The construction of buildings, especially for agricultural workers, and the building of electric lines and systems were specified as especially desirable projects, but as we see from a tabulation of the results of the first three years the work was by no means confined to those types of work.<sup>49</sup> Of the 73,639,550 days of work performed on work-relief projects from April 1, 1920, to August 20, 1923, almost 28,000,000, or about 38 per cent, were devoted to road construction, another 12,000,000 to canal and river construction. Housebuilding received about 4,700,000 days' work and electrical plants 868,000. Upon public improvements and miscellaneous work a total of about 19,000,000 work days was expended. It appears that most work during this period was of a type that would need little expenditure for materials.

This first phase of the work-relief program had to be largely curtailed and finally abandoned as the rapid devaluation of the

<sup>47</sup> R. R. Kuczynski, *Post War Labor Conditions in Germany*, U.S. Bureau of Labor Statistics Bull. 380 (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1925), p. 148.

<sup>48</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 161.

<sup>49</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 164.

nation's currency, reaching its climax toward the end of 1923, made financing of such works an impossibility. Following stabilization of the currency, the program was resumed on a reorganized basis.<sup>50</sup> An effort was made to establish control over the allocation of funds. To make this possible a twofold classification of funds available for work relief was made, namely, basic appropriations and additional appropriations.<sup>51</sup> The basic appropriations were made in the form of grants out of local unemployment assistance funds. In order to receive an additional appropriation from federal and state funds,<sup>52</sup> project applications, including a description of the work to be undertaken, the man-days required, and other details, had to be submitted to a federal agency for approval. This was considered superior to lump-sum appropriations for general purposes.

The administration of these public relief works was in the hands of the public employment agencies. They selected the men to be employed upon such work and determined the terms of their employment. The period of continuous employment was usually set at three months, as it was found that a short period of fairly steady employment had advantages over long periods of discontinuous employment both to worker and to the job; to the former because it made the work more nearly equal to a regular job, and to the latter since it resulted in greater efficiency. The employment office reserved the right, however, to recall a worker at any time, either to place him in private employment, on another project, or to put him on direct relief. The wage policy was a source of continuous friction. The policy established in 1919—that all work be paid for at prevailing rates—was reversed in 1923 as a result of continuous attack on the part of employers who charged that this policy would take away all incentives for workers to seek work in private industry as well as drain workers from low-paid occupations in private industry.

The 1923 ruling stated that work relief was nothing but a special

<sup>50</sup> A good account of the various activities is presented in H. Kraus, *Work Relief in Germany* (New York: Russell Sage Foundation, 1934); see also M. R. Carroll, *Unemployment Insurance in Germany* (2d ed. rev.; Washington, D.C.: The Brookings Institution, 1930).

<sup>51</sup> The German terms are *Grundförderung* and *verstärkte Förderung*, respectively.

<sup>52</sup> These additional appropriations were usually made in the form of loans, supplied in equal parts from federal and state funds (see Carroll, *op. cit.*, p. 35).

form of unemployment assistance and that, as a consequence, the workers so employed were not receiving wages at all but merely their benefits plus a bonus for the work performed.<sup>53</sup> While this interpretation was agreeable to employers, it aroused widespread objection on the part of the workers. The trade-unions, with no objection to work relief as such, used their combined influence to have the interpretation changed. They were successful after a year and a half of agitation. Although for legal reasons the basic interpretation was not changed, the order provided that wages should be paid at the rate established for similar work by collective bargaining or, in the absence of such rate, the prevailing rate for similar work in the place where the work was to be done.<sup>54</sup> A qualification, however, provided that, where such wages might result in drawing workers from private industry or remove the incentive to accept work in private industry, the administration might set a maximum rate. This destroyed the apparent victory of the unions. Although the provision was to be applied only in special cases, "the wages of relief workers have in many instances been established far below the existing union rates. Frequently the wages were determined not by the work to be done, but by the rates of the occupation from which the majority of the unemployed came."<sup>55</sup> Such were the charges of organized labor.

The National Unemployment Insurance Law of 1927 changed the ruling concerning the status of work-relief labor, but it left the determination of wage rates as established in 1925, with the result that this question remained a source of friction between project administrators and trade-unions.<sup>56</sup>

The fear on the part of labor that the provision giving administrators a right to establish maximum rates below prevailing rates would be used to reduce wages seems to have been excessive. A study undertaken in 1928 by the Building Trades Union (*Baugewerkschaftsbund*) showed that, out of a total of 55,698 workers employed on relief works, 47,824, or about 86 per cent, were receiving rates in

<sup>53</sup> *Jahrbuch des Allgemeinen Deutschen Gewerkschaftsbundes* (1925), p. 44.

<sup>54</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>55</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 45.

<sup>56</sup> Dr. Kraus reports that a compromise was often reached by paying the rates established between the union of municipal employees and the local governments (*ibid.*, p. 24).

accordance with the national scale of this union.<sup>57</sup> Another 6.3 per cent were paid according to other existing union scales, while for only 2.3 per cent had maximum rates been established. From about 5 per cent no information on wage rates was obtained.

The total number employed on work relief at the time was in excess of 78,000, thus leaving about 23,000 not included in the study. The report points out there are indications that, had it been possible to reach the total 78,000, the results would have been less favorable. The investigators, having to rely on voluntary information, were naturally able to secure information from projects where union influence was strong much more readily than from those over which the organization had little influence. Nevertheless, the study reveals that, of the total number employed upon work-relief projects, at least two-thirds were receiving union wage rates.

To overcome one of the most serious objections to work relief—namely, that of excessive cost—the federal government “recommended the employment of contractors who lent the necessary machinery and equipment and also furnished a certain fixed percentage of skilled supervisors and foremen.”<sup>58</sup>

To assure the jobs to the unemployed under such contract, the employers were obliged to hire

. . . exclusively men who were sent to them from the Labor Exchange or from the Public Welfare Department. They could discharge only for good reason, and after reporting to the field worker who represented the interest of either agency in the welfare of the clients on the job. Contractors were allowed to pay either by the hour or according to piece rates, which were made part of the advance contract between the municipal bureau in charge and the contractor. Since contractors who specialized in road building were almost entirely dependent on orders from public departments, which called for the employment of clients on a work-relief basis, they were willing to co-operate and conform to some innovations in their contracts. Contractors who were found to be unreliable or not sufficiently co-operative were dropped and in some instances were forced to pay large fines. Members of the labor union's shop committee on the job would know and report to the liaison worker any infringement of contract or lapse in working conditions.<sup>59</sup>

<sup>57</sup> *Gewerkschaftszeitung: Organ des Allgemeinen Deutschen Gewerkschaftsbundes*, XXXVIII (1928), 744-45.

<sup>58</sup> Kraus, *op. cit.*, p. 18.

<sup>59</sup> *Ibid.*

As by special agreement a contractor might be permitted to employ, besides the supervisory force, a number of keymen from his regular work force, the greatest source of inefficiency was eliminated.<sup>60</sup> This method, moreover, overcame the criticism, made before the war both in England and in Germany, that a lack of tools prevented the workers from doing a fair day's work even if they were willing to do so.

Nevertheless, the charge that relief works are far more expensive than work carried on under free contracts was continued by critics of the whole program. A comprehensive study on the basis of projects carried out in 1925-26 showed that the charge was not justified, for the following conclusions<sup>61</sup> became evident:

1. The additional cost of relief work arising out of increased supervision and general administrative expenses amounted to about 0.80 mark per man-day.<sup>62</sup>
2. By giving a man three months' employment his average productivity will not be more than 10 per cent below normal. This 10 per cent increase in cost is to be added only to the wages of the unemployed who are not skilled in the work undertaken.<sup>63</sup>

Against this additional cost there is a saving (1) in the amount which would have been paid to the employed in relief, had he not been employed; (2) in the lower interest rate at which money is usually provided for work-relief projects.

On the basis of these findings, the author pointed out that a comparison of costs must include a study of the ratio between wages and total cost, as well as the ratio between the wages of workers skilled in the work undertaken and the wages of those who are employed on the basis of need without consideration of skill. It was thereby demonstrated conclusively that relief works are economically justifiable, provided care is taken in the selection of projects.

<sup>60</sup> F. Morley, *Employment Relief in Great Britain* (New York: Houghton Mifflin Co., 1924), p. 186.

<sup>61</sup> K. Raphael, *Die Wirtschaftlichkeit der Notstandsarbeiten* (Borna-Leipzig: Noske, 1929), pp. 76-77.

<sup>62</sup> Wages for unskilled labor were about 0.70 mark an hour (*ibid.*, p. 60).

<sup>63</sup> The reduction in productivity increases to about 20 per cent below normal.<sup>64</sup> Shifts are changed every six weeks. This difference results from the fact that the untrained worker becomes accustomed to the work.

A type of relief project differing somewhat from those which have been discussed was developed alongside of these "work for wages" projects. Under the German Public Welfare Law the unemployed after having exhausted their unemployment benefit claims, were cared for by the Public Welfare Department on a budget basis. The recipients of such assistance might be required to work a certain number of hours per week in exchange for the assistance received. To provide work opportunities for this type of unemployed the public welfare agencies developed the so-called "work for relief projects."<sup>64</sup> Such projects were usually under the supervision of the public welfare agencies, and emphasis was upon rehabilitation rather than economic usefulness of the work undertaken.<sup>65</sup> No wages were paid for work performed on such projects; the individual usually received, beyond his budget allowance, carfare, meals, and a few cents pocket money.<sup>66</sup> These projects were not utilized very extensively as both employers and workers offered considerable opposition.<sup>67</sup>

Prior to 1927, funds provided for work relief have been used as subsidies to private industry where such subsidies would aid in employment or prevent a decrease in employment. The difficulty of determining the results and the danger of misuse of the aid provided under this plan resulted in much criticism and abandonment of the experiment in 1927.<sup>68</sup> After this date public welfare agencies continued to use funds for such purposes. The aim being to return workers to productive employment, agreements were made with individual employers whereby the latter would hire a specified number of workers in excess of their regular working force. The agency would, for a number of months, pay to the employer the allowance which it would have paid these workers had they remained unemployed. In return the employer must guarantee to keep these

<sup>64</sup> Kraus, *op. cit.*, pp. 16 and 20-21.

<sup>65</sup> The work might be said to be of the American boondoggling type, e.g., construction and maintenance of sport fields, bicycle paths, community centers, and various other undertakings in the community interest.

<sup>66</sup> Kraus, *op. cit.*, pp. 26-28.

<sup>67</sup> Carroll, *op. cit.*, p. 40; see also *Gewerkschaftszeitung*, XLI (1931), 309.

<sup>68</sup> Carroll, *op. cit.*, pp. 39-40.

men on his pay roll at least for a specified period after the discontinuance of subsidy payments.<sup>69</sup>

It is difficult to determine the effects of such schemes, as they are based upon the assumption that there will be no change in employment conditions. Furthermore, there is the danger that through the subsidy the employer may, by underselling competitors, produce unemployment and thus offset his rehiring. As a result, these methods found limited application before 1933 at which time, as we shall presently see, a complete change in procedure took place.

An additional interesting development deserves to be noted. While in the pre-war period unemployment insurance was advocated and adopted to a limited extent as an alternative to work relief to overcome the hardships accompanying unemployment, Germany during the 1920's made a fundamental change in this concept. In 1924, when a pay-roll tax on workers and employers was levied to defray the cost of unemployment assistance,<sup>70</sup> the government ruled that such funds might be used to decrease unemployment. The funds thus used to decrease unemployment became the basic appropriations for relief works.

When the National Unemployment Insurance Law was adopted in 1927, the lawmakers upheld this concept. Although under this national law the insurance principle was established, e.g., a worker had a legal right to benefits without regard to his financial status, the administrative agency was again empowered to use its funds for work-creating projects. The amount to be used for such purposes was limited to the amount of insurance benefits saved and was not to exceed three marks per man-day.<sup>71</sup>

It is interesting to note that the trade-unions raised no objection to such diversion of their legal cash benefits into work-relief projects and the consequent requirement that they accept employment on relief works instead of being paid benefits directly. The reason for

<sup>69</sup> Kraus, *op. cit.*, p. 19.

<sup>70</sup> This assistance was not given as a matter of right but was based on need. In this sense, although both employers and workers contributed, it could not be looked upon as insurance.

<sup>71</sup> *Gewerkschaftszeitung*, XXXVII (1927), 615. Under the law of 1925 contributions up to 150 per cent of the amount saved in unemployment benefits was permitted for such work.

this favorable attitude may be found in the clause contained in the Unemployment Insurance Law which provides that employment on work-relief projects is to be considered as free contract work.<sup>72</sup> This implies that the workers have the full protection of the existing labor laws.<sup>73</sup> There was, however, the possibility of limitation upon wages. Thus, instead of unemployment insurance superseding work relief, both have been combined in the struggle against suffering resulting from unemployment, and there is every indication that, if administered efficiently, the results will be of greater value to the individual unemployed as well as to the community as a whole than either of the two methods alone could accomplish. Its superior value seems to lie in the fact that, on the one hand, use is made of the idle man-power, which is not the case under the insurance system, while, on the other hand, through assurance that all unemployed, whether employed on work relief or not, will be cared for under the insurance provisions, discretion may be used in the selection of workers to be employed upon relief projects.

Since 1930 numerous changes have taken place for several reasons. The lack of suitable projects as a result of a ten-year period of public construction decreased the desire on the part of public authorities to undertake new works. To this was added the circumstance that the local and state governments had borrowed to the limit and were burdened with the necessity of meeting large interest payments. Moreover, as a result of the world-wide depression, the borrowing power was limited by a stoppage of funds from foreign sources. At the same time the cost of direct relief was ever increasing as the number of unemployed rose to new heights.<sup>74</sup>

An entirely new policy was adopted in 1935 after the overthrow of

<sup>72</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 615.

<sup>73</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 433: "Dies bedeutet das Gewerbeordnung, Arbeitszeitverordnung, Betriebsrätegesetz, Arbeitsgerichtsgesetz, usw. auf die Notstandsarbeiten in vollem Umfange Anwendung finde. Bestehen geblieben ist allerdings die Möglichkeit der Lohnbeschränkung."

<sup>74</sup> It must be remembered that the cost per man on work relief is at least fourfold that of his support through direct relief, although, as is rightfully pointed out, this increased cost aids in reducing unemployment, as part of the cost is for materials, the demand for which increases, or prevents a decrease, in employment. This point was particularly stressed by the trade-unions in their demand for increased work-relief activities.

the democratic government. Bound by the promise to reduce unemployment, the government inaugurated a large-scale re-employment program. The program is too complex to be discussed in detail in this paper. We shall therefore note only some of the fundamental features.

A public works program practically displaced the former work-relief program. The basic work under this program was a nationally financed highway project throughout the nation.<sup>75</sup> Aside from public works, emphasis was placed upon re-employment in private industry.<sup>76</sup> Under this plan (1) a grant was given to newly married couples, the aim being to withdraw women from employment and to create a market for housing and house-furnishing goods; (2) a reduction was made in taxes on industrial property in return for a guaranty to spend a certain amount for the remodeling of plant and machinery; (3) a reduction was made in taxes on residential property in proportion to the amount spent for repairing such property and making extensions to it, to provide work as well as to provide additional living quarters; (4) tax exemption was granted on newly built private homes, in order to stimulate building; (5) reduction in taxes on motor vehicles was made to increase the use of motor vehicles; (6) reduction was made in taxes if additional servants were taken into a household in order to provide additional employment; (7) restrictions were placed upon entrance into industrial employment by those employed in agriculture.

The whole plan is based on the assumption that excessive taxation has prevented re-employment. To meet the cost of public works as well as other costs under this program the government has issued tax-anticipation warrants. To aid the expansion of exports a tax has been levied on industrialists, the proceeds of which are paid out in bounties on exported goods. To reduce the competition in the labor market, the voluntary labor service of boys under twenty-five years of age has been converted into a compulsory labor service.

The results of this whole complex plan, based primarily on sub-

<sup>75</sup> "Ein Jahr Reichsautobahnen," *Soziale Praxis*, XLIII (1934), 1316-18. This does not mean that public works were not undertaken before 1933. As a matter of fact, throughout the post-war period large sums had been expended for this purpose.

<sup>76</sup> "Die Arbeitsbeschaffung des Reiches," *ibid.*, pp. 509-10; see also "Arbeitsbeschaffung durch Steuererleichterung," *ibid.*, XLII (1933), 937-38.

sides to private undertakings, cannot be ascertained definitely. The numbers of the unemployed have been reduced considerably. But it is hard to determine at the present time (1) whether re-employment is of a permanent or of only a temporary nature or (2) whether the living standards of those re-employed have been raised to those already at work, or whether the standards of all wage workers have been reduced to those of persons formerly on relief.

We have seen that work relief was practically abandoned before a period of normal employment was reached. This may be said to prove the uselessness of work relief. Does it? To those who expect work relief to be primarily a means of bringing a return of private business activity it certainly has. It is nevertheless clear that it has been of value in so far as it made possible the utilization of manpower for which there was no demand through normal channels. To be sure "the working capacity of the entire unemployed population is never utilized in times of prolonged depression,"<sup>77</sup> while "on the other hand, work-relief can not take the place of a socially intact system of home relief."<sup>78</sup>

The selection of projects considered suitable for emergency employment has become more careful, and most communities have found it necessary to do long-range planning so as to be able to choose quickly the right kind of project from a great number whenever the opportunity to begin more work opens. This planning has been continued even when, due to financial difficulties, the actual number of workers employed has been few.<sup>79</sup>

states Dr. Kraus. Herein seems to lie the value of work relief; it must be conducted so as to make possible an expansion or contraction as need changes, and expansion must permit the maintenance of standards of performance. Along this line the German experiment may be considered as valuable.

TENNESSEE VALLEY AUTHORITY  
KNOXVILLE, TENNESSEE

<sup>77</sup> Kraus, *op. cit.*, p. 89.

<sup>78</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>79</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 87.

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## RENT POLICIES UNDER EMERGENCY RELIEF— MILWAUKEE'S EXPERIENCE

BENJAMIN GLASSBERG

MANY states, under the impetus given by the Social Security Act, are now in process of deciding the steps to be taken to establish a public welfare department. More and more, thoughtful citizens are beginning to see the importance of setting up machinery that will be broad enough in scope to meet the varying problems that exist and, at the same time, insure that efficiency which is essential in all administration.

One of the most troublesome phases of this broad general program is that of relief for the residual load, the group in the community which refuses to fit into any one of the existing categories that have been established by state or federal social-security legislation. Within the field of general relief, the problem of providing shelter is perhaps one that has caused more perplexities to relief administrators and more anguish and unrest to clients than probably any other phase of the entire relief program. Unfortunately, the withdrawal of federal aid for direct relief has prevented the maintenance of any gains that had been made in this respect.

Through the early years of the depression, payment of rent for unemployed families was almost universally ignored.<sup>1</sup> It was somehow assumed that if a basket of groceries or a food order was supplied, the rent would take care of itself. Although it never occurred to any relief agency unjustly to deprive a grocer or a butcher of his property, the attitude toward the landlord was entirely different. Just why, probably no one could explain. Certainly landlords, especially those among whom, in large number, the needy among the unemployed were living, were not, as a class, able to afford the heavy losses which they incurred as the depression grew in extent, nor did an appreciative city or county remit the taxes due from these self-

<sup>1</sup> See E. Abbott, *The Tenements of Chicago*, chaps. xiv–xv, “Eviction during the Depression Period” and “The Rent Moratorium of the Chicago Relief Agencies, 1931–33.”

same landlords. Possibly, the only explanation that can be offered is that it was felt that the landlord could do nothing about it and would be forced to provide shelter willy-nilly until a court could evict, the landlord paying the expenses. Landlords, being as a rule unorganized, were unable to exert any pressure upon relief administration, and so this scandalous condition was permitted to continue. It should not be overlooked that, while the landlord suffered financially, the client endured a constant threat of eviction, interspersed with enough actual experiences to enable us to understand why children in poor areas in Chicago invented the popular game of eviction.

The state of Wisconsin, in providing some form of state aid to local communities for direct relief in 1933, provided that the administration of emergency relief be carried out "in a manner calculated to preserve the self-respect of the recipients and to insure a nourishing diet and adequate and healthful housing conditions." Shortly after the enactment of the Federal Emergency Relief Act of 1933, Mr. Hopkins, taking note of the failure to provide shelter in many quarters, made it very clear in the rules and regulations which were laid down for the guidance of relief administrators expending federal funds that the amount of relief to be given must include an allowance for shelter. The rules also provided that "taxes may be allowed in lieu of allowances for shelter, the amount not to exceed the normal rent allowance, provided the payment of taxes is necessary, in order to maintain the shelter or home of the relief recipient."

Unfortunately, as is often the case, the mere promulgation of rules and regulations does not insure that they will be carried out. It takes a long time for an attitude to trickle down from the source of authority to the ranks. In many parts of the country, even though practically the entire relief burden was being carried by the federal government, local administrations failed to include in the relief grants an allowance for shelter. Somehow, such a policy seemed to run counter to local practice and local thinking, as to what was good for the unemployed. There must be no "pampering" of the unemployed!

The experience of Milwaukee County with the problem of shelter is, to some extent, in contrast with that of other cities. These experiences I propose to outline. This is not done, however, to paint

Milwaukee as a self-righteous city. Certainly, the least any community could do when 15 per cent to 18 per cent of its population was deprived of an opportunity of supporting itself, was to provide for the minimum needs of these families. That it was done a little bit better than elsewhere does not necessarily mean that it was done adequately or well.

As was the case in other communities in the early years of the depression—that is, during 1930 and 1931—rents were paid more or less spasmodically, mainly when there was illness in a family or it was facing eviction. After a month's rent was paid, there was no attempt to see that the following month was also taken care of. It was felt that, the emergency having been met, the family somehow would meet its needs thereafter, or one could wait for the next eviction. As the relief load went up in the latter part of 1931, the department realized that some definite steps ought to be taken to meet the problem somewhat more adequately, as otherwise the number of evictions would increase enormously, with consequent demoralization and suffering. It was, therefore, decided early in 1932 to make a careful study of this problem, so that prompt action could be taken. A real estate division was established within the department. The division immediately undertook a study of the dwellings occupied by relief clients, as well as the rental conditions prevailing in the community. Neighborhoods in various sections of the city and county of Milwaukee were selected for this study and a careful effort was made to obtain a representative cross-section of housing conditions, as well as of rentals ordinarily charged for certain types of homes. Approximately three thousand relief families located in various sections of the county were analyzed, and detailed information concerning their living quarters was obtained. Specifically, this information included a description of the neighborhood, type of dwelling, the physical condition of the dwelling unit, the number of rooms, their size, floor space, the character of the utilities furnished, storage, basement and attic facilities, sanitary equipment, assessed valuation of the properties, the name and address of the owner, and the amount of rent paid prior to receiving relief. Unfurnished as well as furnished flats and apartments were included.

After this information was collected, it was soon evident that a

definite rent schedule would have to be built up, for the guidance of the several hundred visitors in the department, and that the rent schedule would have to be based on the number of rooms in the dwelling unit and the number of persons occupying it. Both these factors were incorporated in the first rent schedule prepared by the department, and represented also the first attempt at a general control of the amounts to be paid in view of the decision to pay rents regularly, depending upon the need of the family. The actual amount to be allotted for each set of conditions—namely, the number of persons and the number of rooms—was arrived at after a careful study and analysis of the actual rentals paid by relief clients, as well as those prevailing in the community at the time. The amount, as finally fixed, was less than the prevailing market rentals, in some cases from 25 per cent to 50 per cent less. This schedule was put into effect on July 1, 1932.

The reaction from the public to this schedule was not long in coming. Landlords in large numbers came to the department, protesting against the amounts actually fixed. It was explained to these protestants that, although the department realized the necessity of paying for the shelter of the unemployed, the financial condition of the county would not permit this to be done, if the higher market rentals were allowed. After the lapse of a month or two, property owners and the public generally agreed that the newly inaugurated rental plan was probably the best that could be hoped for and, when considered without heat or emotion, was not unjust.

The policy adopted concerning the payment of rent called for the drafting of a standard landlord agreement form, which was issued by the relief worker and left with the client, who, in turn, secured the landlord's signature to it, indicating that the rental allowance carried by the agreement was satisfactory to the landlord. It was, in effect, a contract between the landlord and the relief family for the month in question. For every month the client was in need of aid a new landlord agreement had to be signed. It should be mentioned that rent was the last form of aid granted—that is, families with some income were expected to pay their rent first out of this income, the other needs being met by the department. At first rent checks were made payable to the client and indorsed by him and turned

over to the landlord. This practice lent itself to some fraudulent practices; and, when a number of cases in which fraud was involved were brought to the department's attention, the system was later changed, as a result of which all rent checks were made payable directly to the landlord.

The steady and sharp increase in the number of cases receiving relief and the number for which rent had to be paid, as indicated in the table below,<sup>2</sup> showed a doubling in the number of rents paid between January and May. During the month of August almost three times as many rents were paid as during the first month of the year. This sudden increase made it necessary to enforce a 10 per cent reduction in the rent schedule on September 1, 1932.

Although the immediate effect of the policy of paying rents regularly was an enormous increase in the number of rents to be paid, there followed at the same time a gradual decrease in the average rent payment per client, from \$17.50 in January to \$13.56 in December, or a decrease of approximately \$4.00 per case.

This 10 per cent reduction, although unwelcome, was accepted by landlords fairly generally. Just previous to this reduction, the county had exhausted all of its funds, as well as the amount allotted to it from the state unemployment relief funds early in the year. Fortunately additional funds were now (September 1, 1932) made available, as a loan to the county, by the Reconstruction Finance Corporation. This made it possible to continue with the relief program

1932	Total Rent Case Load	Total Rent Expenditures	Average Rent Payment Per Case*
January.....	5,450	\$ 04,445	\$17.50
February.....	5,754	08,041	17.04
March.....	8,160	136,849	16.75
April.....	8,878	145,567	16.39
May.....	10,213	165,362	16.19
June.....	11,281	179,558	15.92
July.....	12,074	202,761	15.62
August.....	15,113	232,998	15.42
September.....	15,118	224,135	14.82
October.....	15,705	219,702	13.99
November.....	15,074	215,510	13.75
December.....	16,650	224,934	13.56
Totals.....	140,988	\$2,139,862	\$15.58†

\* The average rent per family was, of course, somewhat higher. It was \$16.83 in September and \$15.26 in December.

† Average for 1932.

and with the payment of rentals. Landlords generally recognized that, with the winter months approaching and a likelihood of still further increases in the relief load, it was necessary to co-operate with the county. In addition, the doubling up of families was proceeding at a rapid rate. Vacancies were multiplying. Toward the end of the year many property owners implored the department to place relief tenants in their properties at any rental the department might fix, so that they would not be left tenantless, with the danger of rapid deterioration. In some instances landlords expressed their willingness to accept relief families rent free, so that their houses might be heated during the winter months and prevent possible damage to the plumbing.

During the first few months of 1933, relief expenditures continued to show further increases, as did the amount paid for shelter.

Throughout the state there was a growing feeling of dissatisfaction with the problem of rental payments: not only was there considerable variation in the assumption of responsibility between cities and towns, but there was also lacking any uniformity in fixing the amount of rent to be paid. In the effort to develop a system that would be somewhat uniform throughout the state, the Industrial Commission, which was then charged by the law with the administration of the unemployment relief funds raised by the state and with the supervision of relief work of the local agencies, called a conference of local relief administrators for the purpose of developing a plan for the payment of rent which would be satisfactory to landlords as well as clients. A number of representatives of real estate groups were also invited. In order to differentiate the amount paid by the relief agencies from rents ordinarily paid, it was agreed that hereafter the term "shelter allowance" be substituted for the word "rent" when dealing with the question of shelter. A formula for determining the amount of shelter allowance to be paid was developed, based on the general principle that it should represent the expense to which a landlord was put in maintaining a dwelling unit—or, roughly, equal the taxes, insurance, and the cost of repairs. It was determined that, in addition to making allowance for real estate taxes, 10 per cent of this amount should be added to cover fire and

windstorm insurance. Maintenance costs at the rate of \$3.00 per month per living unit were also allowed.

Efforts were immediately made to put this formula into effect in Milwaukee County. In view of the fact that over eighteen thousand rents were now being paid monthly, the task of computing the exact amount of taxes paid for each dwelling unit, as well as securing all other necessary financial data, represented a huge task. A work-relief project to make this possible was set up, under the supervision of the real estate division. It was necessary to send letters to all property owners to whom the department was paying rentals, requesting them to present their tax bills and other facts relating to their properties. This task was initiated in May, 1933, and completed in October.

It was soon realized, however, that the formula was not practical, in that the allowance would be entirely too low. We then suggested that there be added to the formula some provision for property depreciation, on the basis of an amount equivalent to from 2 per cent to 3 per cent of the assessed valuation. The Industrial Commission in September, 1933, recognized the reasonableness of this suggestion and agreed that it be embodied in the shelter-allowance formula.

This formula was put into practice by practically all relief agencies in the state, with some modifications to suit local conditions, and found to be generally useful.

As the work of establishing the exact shelter allowance for each dwelling unit progressed in Milwaukee County, it became evident that under the new plan, even though an allowance for depreciation was made, it would in many cases be considerably below the existing rent schedule of the department, in some cases so low as to preclude any possibility of acceptance by the property owners. This was due to the fact that the assessed valuation and, therefore, the amount of taxes paid in some districts was exceedingly low. This discovery was interesting, in view of the charges frequently made by landlords that the rentals paid by the department were insufficient to enable them to meet their taxes. A comparison of the total rental expenditures of the department under the new plan, as compared with the total then being paid, indicated a possible saving of not more than 2 per cent. If the cost of installing the new system were taken into con-

sideration, together with the increasing cost of the additional personnel required for its administration, leaving out of consideration the inconvenience to property owners and to tenants who might be evicted because of the small amount which the formula would call for, it seemed undesirable to scrap the existing schedule, which had already been accepted and, in the main, found to be satisfactory. Since the Industrial Commission had originally agreed that the shelter-allowance formula would not be made mandatory upon Milwaukee County until a thorough examination of the whole situation had been made, the matter was presented to the Commission with a recommendation that the department be not required to abandon the prevailing rent schedule. The Industrial Commission was impressed with the position advanced by the department and agreed that there would be no advantage in making a complete change in the system. This schedule has been maintained practically intact throughout the depression. The only modifications that have been made since were in the direction of increases from time to time, as the housing conditions in the county changed.

Further experience with this problem, especially with the individual rentals that were paid, indicated the existence of a number of weaknesses. For one thing, certain landlords found ways and means of taking advantage of the system. Many living quarters which were in a poor state of repair and often unfit for occupancy and lacking the ordinary conveniences, would, nevertheless, under the schedule be entitled to rentals that were entirely too high, aside from the fact that families should not have been permitted to occupy them at all. Nevertheless, the schedule would call for a certain rental, if the unit was occupied by a family of a given size and if it consisted of a given number of rooms. Since the actual application of the schedule was made by the individual visitor, the judgment of several hundred visitors varied considerably. It was but natural for them, burdened with a heavy case load, either in some cases to omit giving consideration to the lack of conveniences or to be unable to examine the conditions of the premises too closely because of the pressure of work. It was recognized, however, that it was unwise to continue to pay rent on the basis of such a varying standard and with resultant inconsistencies in rentals paid for identical dwelling units.

A recognition of this condition led, late in December, 1934, to a decision to appraise every rental unit occupied by clients of the department, so that each rental would be based upon the exact conditions of each unit. A printed form was developed, which listed all factors that went into a desirable dwelling unit. This would make it possible to rate each apartment and for the real estate division to authorize a definite shelter allowance, instead of leaving it to the individual judgment of the visitor. In addition, it was felt that this would give the department a permanent record of a great number of dwellings in the county, so that we would avoid renting any which fell below a certain minimum standard. After a year's operation, the detailed housing conditions of 25,000 rental units were secured and recorded and a definite control has been established over the amount of shelter allowance to be paid in each case. A separate group of workers, especially qualified because of previous real estate experience, was set up to carry out this plan, after receiving careful training and instructions from one of the members of the real estate division.

Hotels and other dwellings which sheltered large numbers of single men receiving relief from the department and other agencies, such as the Milwaukee branch of the Wisconsin Transient Bureau and the Red Cross, were also appraised, to make certain both that the rental approximated the facilities offered and that the quarters did not fall below a minimum of decency. Other private agencies in the community were apprized of this work, so that they might also take advantage of our findings.

To make our work as effective as possible, it was found necessary to establish the closest possible relationships with the municipal Building Inspector's Department and the Health Department, as well as the health commissioners in the other political units of the county. Information concerning dwelling units found to be undesirable was submitted to the Building Inspector's Department of the city, which for many years has been very active in a large-scale demolition program. Through our access to private living quarters occupied by relief clients we were able to open up additional avenues for inspection. This made it possible for the Building Inspector's Department to impose the necessary remedial measures, in order

to abolish unsafe and insanitary housing conditions. Property owners who housed relief tenants who deliberately neglected the care of their properties, permitting them to become structurally defective or insanitary, yet who sought revenues from these properties regardless of these conditions, were thus brought to account and ordered to make the necessary repairs or improvements, as required by the law, or subject themselves to condemnation proceedings by the local authority.

The appraisal and valuation system accomplished a threefold purpose. It gave the department exact information concerning the location and description of every rental unit in which relief clients were housed, as well as the character of the neighborhood, the type of building, the kind of construction, its general condition, an exact description of the individual rental unit, including room size, window space, plumbing facilities, the presence of utilities, storage space available, etc. It also gave the department a control over all shelter-allowance grants, thus removing inequalities and injustices which formerly prevailed, as well as effecting an economy in the cost of rent payments by shutting off practically all possibilities of profiteering by unscrupulous landlords. Finally, it helped to bring about an improvement in the housing conditions in the community for relief clients.

Beginning with 1934, the housing of relief clients has presented some new difficulties. Up to that year the department, as was to be expected, experienced very little difficulty in finding a sufficient number of homes for its clients, due partly to the practice of doubling up and also to the renting of quarters, no matter how undesirable, by families whose income had either been depleted or had evaporated. Under these conditions the rentals paid, while as a rule somewhat less than the prevailing market rate, had been quite generally accepted. The improvement in economic conditions which began early in 1934, due not only to the improvement in the employment condition in private industry but also to the rapid development of the F.E.R.A. work program, which enabled relief clients to pay their own rent from their earnings, very soon changed the entire complexion of the housing situation. The process of "undoubling" began. There was a tendency for people to begin moving up the housing

ladder, slowly but perceptibly. Desirable units were fast being rented. Property owners, desirous of regaining losses which they had sustained from vacancies of long duration or because of reduced rentals during depression years, naturally felt that the tide had finally turned in their direction. We first felt this change in the more and more general refusal of landlords to rent their apartments to relief clients. This was but natural. Rents were beginning to climb upward. Desirable low-rent living quarters, hitherto readily available to relief clients, became quite scarce. Evictions of relief tenants showed an increase. It had been possible for the department to avoid, during the depression, any eviction in the case of families unable to pay the rent which the landlords demanded. Such evictions as did occur were due to the fact that, in some cases where families had some income which the department felt should be used for the payment of rent but which was not so used, eviction would sometimes follow. Generally speaking, the county was spared the sight of unemployed families evicted because of the lack of public resources necessary to aid them.

In the hope of alleviating this situation, the department's shelter allowance schedule was increased in July, 1934, by approximately 20 per cent. While this increase afforded some temporary relief, it was no real solution of the problem.

By the spring of 1935 the situation became acute. Evictions of relief tenants took on larger proportions. In June, 1935, another increase in rentals amounting to 15 per cent was put into effect, to help meet this situation. In an effort to prevent relief families who were to be forcibly evicted by the sheriff from being actually put out on the streets and in order to assist them in locating other living quarters when the families themselves had been unsuccessful, several workers from the real estate division were assigned to co-operate with the sheriff in handling all such cases. The sheriff would communicate daily with these workers, so that they would be informed of pending evictions, and immediate efforts would then be made by scouring all parts of the county to find vacant quarters. In many cases it was possible to stave off evictions, through negotiating with the landlords, and when this failed living quarters elsewhere were usually located. During 1935, 1,062 evictions were handled by the

sheriff's office, of which approximately 700 were relief clients. It is worth noting that the household goods of only eight relief families were actually moved into storage, the balance having been peaceably moved by the relief department or the sheriff's office to quarters within the department's rental figures.

The department had during the last few years attempted to help home-owners on relief from losing their homes and thus avoid aggravating a condition sufficiently serious. At the peak of the depression (in August, 1933), 3,600 families who were receiving relief owned their own homes, of whom 3,200 were tax delinquent. In most cases, the delinquencies were for a period of two years or more. About half of the home-owners were also in arrears on their building and loan payments, and the other half were in arrears on the payment of mortgage interest. It seemed unreasonable to permit these delinquencies and arrearages to continue, although if we did not help to pay interest and taxes many of the clients would be able to exhaust their period of redemption. However, it was felt it was the duty of the department to analyze these property situations, with the view of assisting home-owners to preserve their equities whenever this was possible, and where it could not be done or where the amount of the equity did not justify any action, clients could be so advised. In some cases it was found that quit-claim deeds conveying properties of relief clients to mortgagees or vendors of land contracts, with the designed intent of requiring the department to pay rent for clients occupying such premises, had been executed. However, they were not countenanced unless there was consideration of the redemption period, as provided by law. Likewise, assignments of rents from income-producing properties owned by clients and made with the intent of preserving these properties and avoiding foreclosure, in order to force the department to pay rent in such cases, were not recognized. Furthermore, rental incomes from revenue-producing properties, which were not homesteads and in which the client was not living, but title of which was vested in the name of the client, were regarded as income and so considered in determining the amount of relief.

Early in 1934 the department was able to secure permission from the Board of Trustees of County Institutions to pay mortgage inter-

est on encumbered homesteads, in monthly allowances not exceeding the normal shelter allowance for a given family, provided such homesteads were in distress and threatened with foreclosure. The H.O.L.C. by this time had come actively into the field of saving homes in distress and thus aided materially in preventing a great many foreclosures, which might otherwise have taken place. The department came to the help of many borrowers from the H.O.L.C. by authorizing, in the first instance, an allowance for the payment of mortgage interest out of rental incomes derived from these properties, or from other income in the family, even though no distress existed. On September 1, 1934, this policy was liberalized to include the direct payment of H.O.L.C. mortgage interest by the department in the case of families with no cash income. On July 15, 1935, the department's policy was further liberalized to include the payment of mortgage interest out of relief funds to private mortgagees, as well as to the H.O.L.C., where there was no cash income in the family. Arrangements were also made for the payment of delinquent property taxes on homesteads otherwise clear of encumbrances. The total amount to be paid for taxes and interest was not to exceed the normal shelter allowance for a given family.

Unfortunately, shortly after the termination of federal aid, the Corporation Counsel in May, 1936, ruled that such payments for the protection of home-owners could no longer be made out of county funds, on the ground that the statutes specifically provide that relief can only be given to indigents and that this relief cannot extend to the payment of either interest or principal on a mortgage, or delinquent taxes.

In view of this opinion the department's policy was modified, much to our regret. It appeared that in the long run the county would not be the gainer, for foreclosure action was bound to follow in many cases even on the part of the H.O.L.C., as was soon made evident. We would then have to pay more in rentals, even if suitable vacancies were available, than the amount paid for taxes and interest. A movement is now under way to secure appropriate action at the next session of the legislature to remedy this condition.

Another interesting venture was undertaken in the summer of 1935, pursuant to a County Board resolution. Claims were frequent-

ly advanced that landlords were receiving rentals from the department, who nevertheless failed to pay their taxes. The Board of Supervisors, therefore, requested that rental payments made to landlords who were delinquent in their taxes for a year or more and who would not be in need of relief if payments were withheld, should be applied against their taxes. The department attempted to execute this decision largely through the co-operation of the landlords. Full consideration was given to personal needs. Where need did not exist, it was found possible to carry out this plan without resorting to compulsion. About \$4,000 a month has been turned back to the County Treasurer's office through this procedure, out of a total monthly rent expenditure of approximately \$60,000.

The shortage of low-rent housing facilities in Milwaukee County, which had been established in a study made early in 1933 by the Mayor's Housing Committee, of which the writer was a member, but which had been discounted by the real estate interests, has now been definitely established as a fact. Practically no residential building had been undertaken for more than six years. During the same period the demolition program of housing unfit for human habitation had been going on very actively. In spite of the increases in the department's rent schedule, so that we were approaching the normal market rental figures, the problem of providing sufficient housing facilities for the low-income group in Milwaukee is indeed a most serious one. Fortunately, at least for the department, the number of rentals paid by the department has now decreased to a point somewhat under 5,000, of which but 3,600 are families, due to the fact that so many formerly receiving direct relief are now employed on the W.P.A. program. The one encouraging aspect of the situation for the community is the fact that Milwaukee County has been fortunate in receiving a grant for a housing project from both the Housing Division of P.W.A. and from the Resettlement Administration. The first will provide housing for somewhat over 500 families; and the second, located in the southwestern section of the county, will provide homes for 750 families. Although the rentals at the R.A. project, known as Greendale, have not yet been fixed, those to be charged at Parklawn (the P.W.A. housing project) will be about \$7.60 per month per room. This, however, includes heat and hot water, and

electricity for light, cooking, and refrigeration, and approximates the amount which the department now pays for rent, fuel, gas, electricity, and ice for its clients. Nevertheless, it will be difficult for the family in the lowest income group to pay such rentals without materially decreasing the amount which should be spent for food and clothing. If it were possible to eliminate the charge for amortization to repay the amount advanced by the P.W.A. for the project, the rentals could be materially reduced. Some form of government subsidy must be developed if housing is ever to be made available to the poorer paid workers. At the same time it would be helpful if labor would succeed in forcing the wage level upward.

**DEPARTMENT OF OUT-DOOR RELIEF  
MILWAUKEE COUNTY**

## PERSONNEL IN SOCIAL SECURITY<sup>1</sup>

AGNES VAN DRIEL

DURING the early months of work of the Division of Technical Training, Bureau of Public Assistance, Social Security Board, certain questions have emerged that seem vital. The immediate situation with reference to public welfare brings into vivid reality the differences in legislative structure existing in the states, varying personnel standards, varying degrees of local availability of qualified personnel, and a confusion of thinking that is not limited to any one area or any one group regarding the scope and function of public welfare. If a satisfactory program of public welfare is to be developed in the United States, it appears that early consideration at deeper levels than we have as yet reached will need to be given to such questions as:

1. What is the task to be done in the field of public welfare, particularly regarding public assistance?
2. What qualifications are necessary for persons who will be employed in public welfare?
3. What can be said regarding the number of social workers available, in relation to the numbers to be served?
4. What are some of the specific problems of preparation for the field that today challenge the attention of schools of social work?

What does the job of administration of the public assistance program call for? Immediately and for the present it involves specific obligations to client and to community for a service that will determine the eligibility and current re-establishment of eligibility according to statute with fairness, promptness, and decency; at least a minimum of adequacy in meeting needs; an administration that is constructive (preventive) and efficient, suited to the community's needs and integrated into the whole social work program of the community.

But for the future needs of the field we need to take the long look

<sup>1</sup> A paper read at a meeting of the American Association of Schools of Social Work, St. Louis, Missouri, January 15, 1937. Slight changes have been made in the paper as originally prepared, but neither its general form nor its content has been altered.

ahead. Even the soundest of workers are unable to predict the exact future of social work, of which public welfare forms the largest part. Certain trends and developments seem clear, but, as to the possible scope of the field and points of emphasis, we cannot now be certain. That there will be shifts we can be certain. The very nature and function of social work makes it necessary that it adapt itself to changing needs; and who is there who does not believe that political, economic, and social conditions in the world today will bring about changing conditions and, consequently, changing needs in our own nation? Moreover, we remember that social work as a profession is young, that its body of technical knowledge is as yet relatively small, and that, like all groups in the process of attaining emerging status, it is still a somewhat heterogeneous group, every member of the group not always using to advantage the available technical knowledge, resulting in differences of opinion as to the function of social work. Much of this difference of opinion among the individuals constituting the profession is a wholesome sign, being a stimulus and a challenge to the group as a whole. Dead, indeed, would be any group where there was complete unanimity of thinking!

That social work has had shifts in emphasis on scope and function during its less than a century of professional life is one of the interesting factors in its historical development. Simple but concrete evidence may readily be found by an examination of the file of *Proceedings of the National Conference of Social Work*, or, for that matter—covering an even shorter space of time—of the publications of our own American Association of Social Workers. One test of the soundness and of the strength of the profession will be its sensitivity to changing needs and its ability to use the richness of its resources toward meeting new needs and new conditions. Policies, procedures, methods, and practices, even programs acceptable today may change or perhaps disappear; but the principles, such as respect for human personality, recognition of individual differences and of man's correlative rights and duties, upon which these are built, will endure forever, for they are truth itself and are eternal.

What are the implications for the future? First, in terms of the equipment of individuals who will perform this task, persons with special qualifications will be needed. There may be limitations to

the immediate task, but there are no limits to the range of possibilities of service that workers in the public welfare field see as the job in its entirety. Even though it should happen that a development of the program along fully accepted public welfare principles were not to come in all places in the near future and even though, as a consequence, the program were to remain narrow and stereotyped with an understanding that the task of the worker was limited to an application of the statute or the policy established by the administrating office, special skills would still be needed on the part of those engaged in the service. For even the establishment of eligibility according to rule "as the book says so" is not so simple as some would have us believe. For the application of the rule to people in trouble and to people some of whom are not too clear regarding "what it is all about," or even about their own personal situations, is not a task that can be done by just anyone. Moreover, it does not take long experience to discover that one cannot disassociate, for instance, the factor of age or dependency from the sum total of factors which go to make up the whole of a child and that one must be competent to see him in his integrated self, of which age or dependency is only one factor. Once, then, that it is recognized that the task of administration involves an understanding of human relationships and an ability to help individuals meet their needs, it becomes evident that the qualifications required for this task are those which are basic in social work. Nothing less than the best is good enough for the client and for the community, if society is to have the opportunity for development that we believe is in accord with the soundest principles and ideals. Any service less than this becomes scrappy and sterile.

We need not discuss here the qualifications that are generally considered as being necessary for effective social work performance. The factors which may be listed as personal qualifications, general education, professional (special) education, and controlled and directed experience have been frequently discussed. And, while there may not be general agreement upon the details of such qualifications, there is no longer any difference of opinion but that qualifications must include contributions from these several areas. But let us look at another aspect of this problem of personnel in the field of public welfare.

What is to be said about the numbers of workers needed for the job? Regarding the Bureau of Public Assistance of the Social Security Board alone, forty-three political jurisdictions now have approved plans for at least one of the three programs—old age assistance, aid to the needy blind, and aid to dependent children. The estimated number of recipients of such services to date is approximately one and one-half million people. It is also to be remembered that in many states the public assistance program is only one part of the whole public welfare service, including general relief and a variety of other services, which means an undifferentiated case-load for the workers, of which the suggested million and a half persons are only a fraction. The American Association of Social Workers now counts 10,150 members. This group of supposedly professionally prepared people is the group available for private social work of all kinds, as well as for public welfare programs. Obviously, even with this number augmented by the several hundred graduates<sup>2</sup> who yearly come forth from our schools of social work, further augmented by advanced students who are not graduates but who are placed in social work positions, it is quite evident that there are not sufficiently large numbers of social workers available to fill social work positions and that in all likelihood there will not be for years to come. This means an inevitable placement of many persons on state and local staffs who have no preparation for the work they will be called upon to do, aside from whatever fitness they may have because of personal qualifications or education or experience in related fields. This condition will be intensified by the fact that all persons responsible for employing state and local staffs have not accepted the need for qualified persons in the service, so that there will be a consequent lack of effort on their part toward securing persons with particular preparation for the work.

Consequently, preparation for the job of public welfare is a larger problem than merely that of education of social workers in schools of social work, huge as that problem itself is! An approach to meeting the needs can be made by sending carefully selected individuals from the staff into schools of social work. In localities where a school

<sup>2</sup> During 1935-36 a total of 1,176 students majoring in social work received degrees, diplomas, or certificates from schools holding membership in A.A.S.S.W.

of social work is immediately at hand, part-time attendance in such a school may help toward the solution of the problem in that vicinity, but both of these helps are but a drop in the bucket compared with the numbers of persons who will need help if their services on the staff are to be at all adequate. In other words, there must be some kind of education for the job while on the job. At the outset, however, it should be made clear that such education for the job while on the job should not be limited only to the nonsocial workers on the staff. No person, regardless of how elaborate his preparation, no matter how sound his qualifications may be, is ever able to render the quality of service that he would like to render to clients and to community. For, as we all know, education is not static but dynamic and can never reach a finished state. Certainly, this is true in the field of social work, where flux and change are continuous.

The schools of social work themselves have recognized that sound education for social work cannot be built through offering isolated courses but that, like sound education for other professions, the whole curriculum must be planned to prepare students to practice the profession. It becomes quite clear, then, with reference to the responsibility of the schools, that the principle which they have followed of offering education for the practice of social work instead of offering "special courses," or teaching techniques (whatever they may be!), is their fundamental test. No person can be an educator in the field of social work who believes that social work is a bag of tricks and that, in preparation for the field, the student must be taught how to pull a rabbit out of the hat on the occasion of needing to produce a certain effect. The greater the unity of the schools on this point, the greater will be the gain to the whole country. If this principle, which the schools of social work have laid down as basic in their educational planning, is generally observed, it re-emphasizes the importance of teaching the philosophy of social work and principles of social work which are unchanging but whose externals or whose practices may be modified to meet changing needs. To give only two illustrations: In reviewing a file of material with reference to a particular state, copies of correspondence were found which had passed between the state director of public welfare and a citizen of that state, in which the citizen took the director of public welfare to task

for the method by which he had selected the state staff for the administration of public assistance. (It appears that the director's method was not through use of the merit system.) The director of public welfare replied in apparent amazement to the citizen's challenge by remarking that he could not possibly have selected persons who had had previous experience, since his state had never had old age assistance until the current year and, consequently, there were no persons available with experience in that field! Yet, in that state there were large numbers of competent social workers who had been engaged in both private and public social work performed according to acceptable standards over a period of many years. But it had never occurred to the director of public welfare that the task of administering public assistance might call for the same qualifications of personnel as the task of administering general relief, or care of children, or probation service, etc.

A second illustration I draw from the field that is much under discussion today—that of the practice of rural social work. It has taken a long time to have recognition of the principle that preparation for the practice of social work in rural communities does not differ in principle but rather in adaptation of practice plus the addition of certain factual material which may be peculiar to rural areas. That is to say, people are people whether they live in the city or in the country, whether they are over sixty-five or under sixty-five, whether they are economically independent or dependent, whether they are white or colored. The need appears to be to broaden the base and to deepen and to enrich the content itself that goes into education for social work, with a continuing appreciation of the fact that social work is not an artificial growth but rather that it draws its strengths from all the sources which give value to the individual.

In addition to this basic principle which forms the bedrock of education for social work, there appear to be emerging certain other factors some of which perhaps are new, others of which need only the re-emphasis which the schools have already given. To mention only a few of them: We accept with enthusiasm the attempts that are being made through federal and state efforts to secure a greater degree of economic security for certain individuals than has been possible in the past. The need for, and the gains from, such a program are well

known. Is it not important that social workers concern themselves with the tax resources, from which economic security may be expected to come, instead of falling back upon, "There ought to be a law," "Funds will have to be found," and similar expressions of disregard for the realistic factors involved? And, on the other hand, is it not also a part of the task of schools of social work to teach their students that economic security, alone, has too limited a scope to meet the sum total of human needs? For are we not retarding the real growth of any individual if we are satisfied with meeting merely economic needs? Do we not need eternally to stress man's needs for other securities in addition to economic security—health, educational, spiritual, etc.—remembering that the phrase, "Man does not live by bread alone," is neither merely a pious nor a high-sounding literary phrase but that it has sound social value. Limited, indeed, is he who cannot appreciate the thinking of the man who would sell half his loaf of bread to buy the flowers of the narcissus with which to feed his soul. In other words, is it not important that students who will later be active participants in public welfare programs be taught not alone man's "right to soil and fireside" but that they also recognize other rights of individuals, recognizing that national security is based upon a wider foundation than merely economic, that rather it rests upon a combination of liberty, opportunity, peace, and justice, and that, unless we take the attainment of a measure of economic security as only the beginning instead of the end, we will indeed be shortsighted.

A second problem which confronts schools of social work in the developing of a program of public welfare arises from the fact that many workers will be needed for supervisory positions and that upon the schools falls the responsibility for preparation, either directly or indirectly, for this task. If the plans for supervised field work listed in their respective catalogues as being offered by the various schools of social work reflect their thinking on supervision, then, indeed, there is much difference of opinion as to what supervision is. Does the approach to the answer to this question not come through a consideration of the question, "What constitutes teaching?" Is it a co-operative undertaking between two people, which, through the stimulation of thought, produces real growth, or is it an "I tell 'em"

method, where one person develops a program of "do this and don't do that" for another? Translated into the operating field of social work itself, can there be recognition of the developmental gains which can be expected to come to staff members through the proper use of supervision and appreciation of the fact that the skilful use of supervision is truly an educational process? If schools of social work can help their students, who later will be either supervisors or supervisees in social agencies, to a more helpful point of view on the subject of supervision, a strengthening of the general service may be expected.

With reference to supervision there is a further point. Recent experience in counseling with state authorities on the question of educational development of staff brought forth a statement from one of the state field staff supervisors, when the question was raised as to what they thought they most needed help on in doing a good job of supervision with the counties: "Help us to translate what we know into terms that the untrained worker can understand." Is it not a sad commentary that for some social workers their interpretation of their work is so involved that persons not social workers need a dictionary in hand in order to understand their terminology? And is it not still more serious if, by the time social workers have developed to the point of being supervisors, their terminology is not clear? Is it not a reflection on the way we ourselves were taught if what we know is not really part and parcel of our very being and, therefore, translatable?

A third point with reference to supervision is a serious one from the point of view of the schools of social work. There is general recognition of the fact that there are too few adequately equipped persons to fill the administrative positions in the field; therefore, the schools find themselves between the two horns of a dilemma. If they do not recommend someone who has had some preparation for the field, in all likelihood someone with no preparation will be put into the position by the patronage group. On the other hand, having an insufficient number of well-qualified persons to recommend for administrative positions, if a person inadequate for the position is recommended, not alone will clients and community suffer but in all likelihood the social worker himself will seriously suffer. And so to-

day we find graduates from schools of social work or advanced students being recommended for state and even federal administrative positions when in reality their education and experience fits them best for a somewhat protected position on a county or state staff where, under adequate supervision, they themselves might have the opportunity for growth that would ultimately lead them into sound performance in a larger field. What is the answer to the need for good administrators in the field of social work and what are sound methods of recruiting, preparing, and placement of persons as administrators in the field? The responsibility which schools have on this point is a serious one and one to which they are undoubtedly giving earnest consideration.

Several years ago the Association of Schools of Social Work appointed a Curriculum Committee, which has worked very hard through successive years trying to develop syllabi for the various courses taught in schools of social work. The fact that such committees are continuing committees of the Association is heartening, and it indicates recognition on the part of the schools of their need to have agreement upon the content of the basic courses taught in all the schools. It is understood that the schools agree that content alone is not sufficient; that the student needs to understand how to adapt the content to differing conditions in varied situations. Will a social worker who secured his preparation for the field in a school of social work, where the teaching material and the supervised field work dealt with cities where social resources were many and varied, be able after graduation adequately to practice social work in a community that has few if any social resources or will he be content to excuse his failure to do satisfactory work by saying, "I couldn't be expected to do a good job here because I have nothing with which to work"? Or will he seize on the equally absurd alternative of trying to carry over directly and unchanged his practice in an urban community into a community wholly unlike the one in which he was taught? An analogy perhaps may be drawn from the medical profession. When Dr. Dafoe entered the Dionne home on the night of May 28, 1934, and found Mrs. Dionne in a serious and complicated condition, did he shrug his shoulders and say, "I am sorry; this is so serious a case that it calls for hospital and nursing equipment and,

having neither, I can do nothing and therefore will go"? Scarcely! Instead, he put on the tea kettle, rolled up his sleeves, and proceeded with no equipment save his own skill and the instruments of the general practitioner to deliver not one baby but five.

The schools of social work have another serious responsibility if their graduates are adequately to meet the changing picture in social welfare. The size of any large organization because of its very largeness tends to obscure to the individual within it the organization's possibilities of adaptation to individual needs. Is there not, therefore, a serious danger that, with the present increasing governmental participation in public welfare, there may be a tendency on the part of individuals in the community to lose their sense of personal and individual responsibility to their neighbor unless those who are responsible for the development of the program are able to promote such growth in the governmental agency that individual participation on the part of citizens forms an integral part of the whole service? Is it not the responsibility of schools of social work to reveal to students that a governmental agency is not necessarily a routinized and formal and impersonal kind of agency but rather that it may have great vigor and that its service will develop in direct proportion to the opportunities for service which the community expects of it?

One more responsibility, which the schools have recognized but which needs re-emphasis, is that, while good personnel is the first element in sound public welfare practice, good staff alone cannot effect complete and lasting success unless the staff recognizes that it is the public's program and not the exclusive concern of the social worker and that, at the same time, the responsibilities for leadership in the community on the part of the social worker are constant and unending. Community participation through advisory committees and through whatever other lay participation is sound in a program is essential if the program is to flourish. This is an old and well-recognized principle of social work which the schools have always taught, but is the present situation not an important time to re-emphasize the principle that no social work program can advance more swiftly than the community in which that program is found promotes its advancement?

There is a problem of personnel not exclusively the concern of the

public welfare field, but one which has its roots deep in that field. It has to do with recognition of nonsocial workers who, because of the shortage of social workers, are employed in the social welfare field. Every community has faced the consequences of this situation with varying results. In some places the thinking has been in effect: "These people are doing a social work job, therefore they are social workers. We, therefore, will call them social workers and will recognize them as such." In other places the attitude toward such workers has swung to the opposite extreme, developing into mere toleration of them, with frequent reminders that they are "without the pale." Does not a test of true sense of values open a wider area of consideration of this problem? Is it not possible to recognize the very real contribution which the untrained group has made to the field of public welfare, without giving professional recognition to their contribution? Can we not help to make clear the demands of a full program of public welfare for professional qualifications for those in its service, while at the same time recognizing both the accomplishments of the untrained group as well as their limitations to do more than certain portions of the whole program? Is it not perhaps analogous to the relationships of bricklayer to architect? An untrained person begins the trade of bricklaying as an apprentice. By gradual advancement, if he shows diligence and skill, he progresses step by step to the ultimate position of master bricklayer, at which time he supposedly knows all there is to know about bricklaying. But he never, through mere learning on the job and through progression on the job, can become an architect, who also must know the bricklayer's job, but who, in addition, must be in possession of a much wider and richer and deeper area of knowledge of which bricklaying is only a small fragment.

Is not 1937 the time for strengthening standards of service, for insistence upon better-equipped personnel, while at the same time we labor to build our supporting strength, rather than for lowering our standards and being satisfied with too little? An old German scholar who taught me music when I was a child was wont to say so significantly that even my child mind understood his meaning, "Out of nothing, comes nothing!" Is it not true in public welfare that, if we come into the service empty-handed, we have little to give?

There is a challenge to the American Association of Social Workers and to the Association of Schools of Social Work to offer active leadership at this point. Smug complacency in membership in our own profession breeds indifference to real need. But always with true leadership comes the capacity to develop the strength of a following in the respective communities in which we live and work. No cause has ever been won for long, no nation has ever progressed to lasting gains, beyond the point where the masses understood and actively participated in the progress.

And so we face the problems of our work in the future, sharing, not dividing, the responsibility; with a prayer for courage to face its challenge, for illumination of intellect to find the way, for humility that we may be willing to recognize the truth when we meet it in our search. For, then, surely we shall know the truth, and the truth shall make us free.

BUREAU OF PUBLIC ASSISTANCE  
SOCIAL SECURITY BOARD

## POOR RELIEF IN A MASSACHUSETTS VILLAGE IN THE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY

ELEANOR PARKHURST

**C**OLONIAL town records furnish valuable information regarding early methods of administering the poor laws. These scattered and fragmentary records help us to understand the local governmental procedures that have, unfortunately, survived into the twentieth century.

The town of Chelmsford, Massachusetts, from whose records most of the following extracts were taken, was settled in 1653 and incorporated in 1655. Like other colonial towns of New England, its poor relief policy was based upon English precedent—especially upon the Elizabethan statute of 1601—combined with the peculiar experimentation demanded by the New England system of complete local self-government.

For nearly one hundred years after its settlement, no demand for public poor relief was made to the authorities of Chelmsford except in the case of an elderly couple who came from another town to gain, about 1720, the doubtful distinction of being the first persons to be maintained at public expense.

July ye: 18: 1727. At a meeting of the Selectmen and overseers of the Poor, the overseers agreed that Samuel Gould should have one frie room in Zachary Emery's house to dwell in with his wife. 2dly it is agreed that in compliance with the order of the Genll Sessions that what is due to Samll Gould at three shillings pr week from the first day of January last be paid to such persons as he is now indebted for necessary provision for his subsistence. 3dly that Samll Gould shall have suitable maintenance provided for him. 4ly that Samll Gould shall be employed according to his ability in order to help forward his maintenance. 5ly that Samll Gould shall have a Horse provided for him to ride to meeting when he is capable of attending the publick worship. . . .

This century-long dearth of "paupers" may be attributed in part, at least, to the practice of "warning out,"<sup>1</sup> which prevailed in Chelmsford until the passage of the Massachusetts Settlement Act

<sup>1</sup> J. H. Benton, *Warning Out in New England* (Boston, 1911), pp. 114 ff.

of 1794.<sup>2</sup> This Act repealed all previous laws as to town settlements and provided eight different ways in which legal settlement could be obtained. Prior to this, for example, an order of the General Court (in 1659), an article in the Articles of Confederation (1672), and an Act of 1692 had all stated that, unless persons were warned to depart from the town within three months of their arrival, they would gain a settlement there, and the town would be liable for their support if they became dependent. In 1700 the period within which a warning might be given to prevent settlement was extended to twelve months; and in 1789 a more comprehensive statute was enacted on this subject; in 1790 the period was extended to three years; in 1791 to four years; and, finally, in 1793 to five years.

The early colony laws just mentioned, as well as the Settlement Act of 1794,<sup>3</sup> were undoubtedly influenced by the English Law of Settlement and Removal and its various amendments, which provided, at successive periods, that persons might be removed from the town in which they were living to the place where they were legally settled if the removal took place, first, within forty days of their arrival and, later, within one year—forty days and one year being, respectively, the length of residence required to gain a settlement in England.<sup>4</sup> Likewise, the settlement laws of other states were very probably influenced by those of the New England colonies. For example, Ohio adopted the measure of warning out that was used by Massachusetts, New Hampshire, and Connecticut,<sup>5</sup> while Indiana in 1818 provided for the removal of persons who were likely to become dependent to the place of their last legal settlement unless they provided some security to the contrary.<sup>6</sup> Indiana, however, unlike Ohio, did not use warning out, and the provision for removal was omitted

<sup>2</sup> *Acts of 1794*, ch. 34, quoted in R. W. Kelso, *History of Public Poor Relief in Massachusetts* (Boston, 1922), p. 59.

<sup>3</sup> Sidney and Beatrice Webb, *English Local Government: English Poor Law History*, Part I: *The Old Poor Law* (London, 1927), p. 344, quoting from 13 & 14 Charles II, c. 12 (1662).

<sup>4</sup> 59 George III, c. 50 (1819), quoted in Webb, *op. cit.*, p. 345.

<sup>5</sup> *Ohio Laws*, 3 v p. 274, sec. 4 (1805) quoted in A. E. Kennedy, *The Ohio Poor Law*, p. 22.

<sup>6</sup> *Laws of Indiana*, ch. 14, p. 154 (1817-18), quoted in A. Shaffer and M. W. Keefer, *The Indiana Poor Law*, p. 31.

from the revised statutes of 1852. Ohio in 1854 omitted from the pauper act its provision for giving warning to leave the township.

Being warned out often meant a very real hardship to the persons whose presence was, for some reason, considered undesirable. During the year 1795, and within the space of fifteen days, Chelmsford warned 211 persons to leave the town. Family relations had little effect upon the exercise of warning out, for it appears that, in January, 1670, notice was given to Henery Merrifeild

to discharge the towne of his daughter Funnell which hath been at his hous about a weeke; vnless he gitt a note vnder the hands of the Select men of Melton that they will receave her againe if need be and to looke at her as an Inhabetant of their Towne, notwithstanding her residence at her fathers hous for the p'sent.<sup>7</sup>

Under date of December 8, 1671,

the wife of Henery Merrifeild appeared before the Select men, to answer for entertaining of their daughter Funnell, Contrary to towne order, whose answer was, that she was their daughter and Could not turn her out of doars this winter time but she would willingly returne to her husband as soone as a passadg p'sents; but they were not approued in entertaining her, but the penalty of the town order the Select men would remitt and would leauie it to the County Court to determine the thing, if in Casse she be not gon before.

In 1672, there is this record:

The Select men haueing sent for John Plum and his daughter Mercy, and finding that his said daughter being married to Thomas Chub of Beuerlee, and being alsoe neere the time of her deliuery is not p'uided for by her said husband, nor taken home to him, but continues heer with her father, contrary to good order, and to the hazarding of a charge vpon the towne, doe therfore order and requier, that the said Mercy Chub doe speedily within Six or eight days leauie this towne, and betake herself to her said husband. And doe also warne and order the said John Plum that he noe longer entertaine his said daughter, but hasten her to her husband as aforesaid vpon the penalty by the town order in that Case p'uided, and of being complained of further to Authorety that soe the towne may be sau'd harmeless.

By giving some security to the town, it was possible to avoid being warned. In 1667, for example:

Richard Curtice came to the Select men, and desired ther app'bation to Come into the Towne to liue, which was granted on Condition that he doe make ouer his house and land at Melton for the Towns Security that he be not chargable to the towne.

<sup>7</sup> Benton, *op. cil.*, p. 41.

And again:

March, 1685/6. Caleb Littlefield, living in the house formerly Thomas White's, warned to leave town, not being an inhabitant, or bring security to the selectmen.<sup>8</sup>

The warning-out order and its return became more or less standardized in form if not in spelling.

To mosis tiler Constable of Boxford

thes aer to Requier you in her majesties name forth with to warn the wief of After Carey to depart out of our Towne to the place of hir former Residence the Select men of Boxford not allowing her to Reseid in our Towne, dated the 22 of october 1703 as witness our hands the Select men of Boxford.

October the 26 1703: in obediance to this warent I haue warned the wief of After Carey to depart out of Boxford and not to Com in to it a gaien as an inhabitant as witness my hand

Mosis Tiler  
Constabel of Boxford<sup>9</sup>

As the practice of warning out increased and as the difficulty of insuring departure from the town grew, "cautions" were entered with the Court of Sessions.

Capt. Joseph Estabrook was authorized to request the Honorable Court of Sessions in June [1714] next, to enter cautions against Daniel Cutting and his wife, Sarah Cook, and Johanna Snow, that they might not be burthensome to Lexington.<sup>10</sup>

In some cases, the unfortunate person was actually carried out of town bodily by the constable. The story of an old man in Hanover is told, for example, who, when young, was employed by the selectmen for the purpose of removing families. "He said he left Hanover after dark, travelled all night, camped the next day in the woods, at night resumed his journey, and about midnight, reaching his destination, left the family in the street."<sup>11</sup> In the town treasurer's accounts in Weston such entries as these are selected at random:<sup>12</sup>

1757. For carreing Thos. Partridge & family out of town. 0-4-0

1762. Carring Pacence Clark & Son to Waltham. 0-4-0

Carreing woman & child to Newton. 0-2-8

<sup>8</sup> G. Nash, *Historical Sketch of Weymouth* (1885), p. 41.

<sup>9</sup> *Boxford Town Records, 1685-1706*, pp. 94-95. <sup>10</sup> Benton, *op. cit.*, p. 60.

<sup>11</sup> J. Dwelley and J. F. Simmons, *History of Hanover* (Hanover, 1910), p. 23.

<sup>12</sup> *Town of Weston Records, 1754-1803*.

1762. Carreing woman & child to Sudbury.	o-1-4
Carreing Cox & famely to Waltham.	o-18-8
1764. Carring Moses Larkin out.	o-4-o
1766. Carreing Mary & Sary Evans to Waltham.	o-4-o
Carreing Jane Kendrick to Natick.	o-3-o
1767. Carreing Widow Beoynton to Waltham.	o-3-o

In warning out those who were considered "undesirables" (i.e., chiefly those who appeared likely to look to the town for support in the event of their dependency and by virtue of residence), the town was merely exercising a right that existed because of the theory of inhabitancy or right to live in a certain settlement, which, according to English tradition, imposed upon the inhabitants of that settlement a common responsibility for the support of any needy member. If each town were a corporation, established by free consent, it was reasoned, then each town should exercise its sovereignty by the admission or exclusion of its inhabitants. In Chelmsford, for example, it was voted that no one should own land within the town unless he had been approved and admitted as an inhabitant by a majority vote at a public town meeting.

Month: 2: Day: 1st: 1654. Wm. How, weaver, is admitted an Inhabitant and granted by the Town Twelve acres of meadow and eighteen acres of upland, promising to the Town to sett up his trade and perform the Town's work so far as he can.

Fifth Month: 1656. James Parker and Timothy Brooks admitted Inhabitants with grants from Town.

7th: ye 12 month: 1681. Joshua Sawyer at his request was admitted an Inhabitant in this Town and had Libberty granted him to purchase the Town's land as he can agree with the Committee appointed to sell Land.

John Lowell admitted as Tanner.

It was impossible to foresee all possibility of dependency, however, and, further, it was very difficult to enforce the theory of warning out even though the cause was just and the expense to the town was small.

July 20, 1738 for warning out Timothy Fletcher and fam.	o-03-o
Feb. 19, 1738 To John Davis, constable, for warning out John Buck and family and Jane Marlin	o-4-6
For warning out Andrew Bailey and pd. to John Spaulding	o-6-o

Feb. 29, 1739

To Capt. Chamberlain for money paid to the Clerke of the Court for entering a Caution against 2 persons that was warned out of the Town of Chelmsford	o-7-0
To Jos. Warren for serving upon persons warrents to warn them out of town	o-15-6

Old residents became enfeebled and ill.

March 21, 1733/4. To Nathaniel Harwood for paying for a coffin for Samuel Gould's wife: o-6-6

Sept. 30, 1734. To Ebenezer Foster for digging a grave for Goody Gould: o-6-0

Jan. 2, 1734/5. To Dr. Blazedil in part for houseroom for Samuel Gould and for Goody Gould's funeral: o-14-6

In 1733 the town voted that "Capt. Saml. Chamberlin be the surety in the Room and sted of Deacon Stephen Peane who is impaired in his Reason."

The colonial wars injured some of the town's soldiers and widowed their wives. Children became orphans or half-orphans.

Nov. 17, 1727. Voted that Elizabeth Virgin alias Elizabeth Wait's child to be subsisted at 3s. per week by Zachary Emery until the Town or Selectment shall dispose of it in a more easy maner and that the Town find sd. child cloathes during its abode at Zachary Emery's, and Zachary Emery consented to the above said vote at the meeting.

The child being voted to Mr. Emery, probably because he was an overseer of the poor and not because he desired it, he did not hesitate to board it out. In May, 1728, Elias Foster was keeping the child and being paid in addition for clothing and nursing it. Within a week, however, Zachary Emery was given "6d. a week more for keeping the child of Elizabeth Wait 16 weeks," so it is evident that Mr. Emery was still officially interested in the case and that the care of the child was becoming burdensome. It is not surprising, then, to find that in January, 1728-29 certain negotiations were carried out between the selectmen and one Josiah Tucker of Groton. It was "Voted, that John Robins and Zachary Emery, overseers of the poor, agree with Josiah Tucker of Groton abote the sd. Tucker's taking and keeping the child of E. Waite's and freeing the town of any further charges about the child." The town treasurer is then authorized to "pay to Mr. Emery £6 to pay Josiah Tucker of Groton

for taking and keeping the child of Elizabeth Waite and securing the Town from any further charges concerning the said child." A receipt was also given:

Feb. 25, 1728. Received of John Robins and Zachary Emery, overseers of the poor, £6, the sum which the said voted me for taking as an apprentice Elizabeth Wait [?] a poor infant child and acknowledge myself hereby to clear the said town from any further charge which may arise concerning the said child.

J. Tucker (his mark)

In November, 1753, the town paid to "Mr. Wm. Parker for taking one Joanna Cory, a poor child of John Cory, deceased, and to take care of her while 18 years old: 1-4-0." Later, another member of the same family was placed out:

Jan. 26th, 1771. I, the Subscriber, promise to pay or cause to be paid unto the Selectmen of Said Town the sum of Two pound, eight Shillings and Eleven pence Lawful money, it being for the use and Benifit of Benoni Cory, a poor child of the said town, to be paid when he shall arrive at the full age of twenty-one years with Lawfull Interest for the same untill Paid as witness my hand.

Aaron Chamberlin

Test  
Amos Kidder

Another case is that of Mary Lambert and her child.

February 17, 1728/9. It was putt vote whether the town would allow or disallow of a Bill of £7 signed by the Selectmen of Dotchister for Mary Lambert's lying in and nursing at Dotchister. It passed in the negative.

Voted, that there should be an answer sent to the Selectmen of Dotchister concerning the bill that they charge upon the Town for Mary Lambert's lying in at said town of Dotchister.

February 25, 1728/9. Expended aboute Mary Lambert, 0-12-0.

To Edward Foster for Jos. Barritt for keeping Mary Lambert and child, 0-10-0. To Sam. Chamberlain for 1 day aboute Mary Lambert, 0-3-0. To Sam. Chamberlain to cost of Court convicting Mary Lambert, 1-10-2. To Leut. Adams for 1 day waiting at court aboute Mary Lambert, 0-3-0. To Deacon Fletcher for going to Dunstable and getting a warrant for Mary Lambert, 0-10-0. To Josiah Fletcher for carrying Mary Lambert to the House of Correction, 0-1-6. To Josiah Scotton for keeping Mary Lambert and her child with victuals and drink and fireing in the House of Correction at Charlestown from Jan. 10, 1728/9, to the 28th of the month following, 11 weeks' allowance being made for her labour in that Time, 6-9-10. To Zachary Emery for his time and charge in bringing up Mary Lambert from Charlestown and finding her a pair of shoes, 1-7-0.

To such persons as these, the town definitely owed aid. Sickness, death, and misfortune did not wait to strike until their victims were

beyond the boundaries of the town, and grim necessity overcame at one stroke the careful planning of the town fathers. Even unsettled persons—travelers, visitors, those living in town illegally (i.e., without permission, a fact that prevented the town from becoming legally responsible for their support)—had to be cared for at some time or other.

"The affair of Jane Williams," as town records term it, was doubtless that of a woman who was ill and in need of care in Chelmsford but whose place of settlement was Beverly, to which place she was returned as promptly as possible. Chelmsford was reimbursed by Beverly for its care of her.

Dec. 28, 1764. Paid for conveying Jane Williams to Beaverly, 8 shillings. For keeping Jane Williams, £3, 24 shillings. For doctor for Jane Williams, 1-1-0.

June, 1766. Received of Beaverly for Jane Williams's last sickness, £7.

July, 1766. Trip to Beaverly, 9 shillings. Letters to Beaverly about Jane Williams, 6 shillings.

The following entries are similar examples of sickness and misfortune:

For Saml. Woods, lately of this town, having lost his substance by fire—  
Dec. 11, 1743, was collected £16.

For Hannah Shed, in this town, though not properly as inhabitant, being sick and destitute, was collected April 12, 1744, £9.

For Daniel Raymond of Concord, whose son was wounded by a loaded sled running over his leg, and is languishing, was collected Jan. 13, 1745, £9, 11s. 2d.

In 1791, two years before the law regarding warning out was repealed, the town was still struggling to free itself of unwanted poor persons. An article in the warrant for a town meeting at the time reads:

To see if the town will take into consideration the matter respecting the maintaining Mary Brown and see if they cant be some way to free the town from that cost, as we conclude that she belongs to Billerica, or for the town to act anything thereon, as they may think proper.

Voted to choose a committee<sup>12</sup> to see if this town can be freed from the maintaining of Mary Brown.

Then, too, there were the Acadians, about a thousand of whom were taken to Massachusetts and supported at province expense for

<sup>12</sup> No report of this committee is found.

a long period. Their expulsion from Nova Scotia during the French and Indian Wars (1754-63) caused them to be dependent upon public support, and, while individual towns did "subsist" them, these towns were reimbursed by the Province.

Province accounts show such items as the following:

June 14, 1758. Allowed to the selectmen of Chelmsford for supporting French neutrals, £25.2.5 $\frac{1}{4}$ .

January 17, 1759. Allowed to the selectmen of Chelmsford for supporting French neutrals, £42.2.6 $\frac{1}{2}$ .

The town rendered an account from time to time to the secretary of the Province for the support of these people, as in the case of this record of April 27, 1767:

At a meeting of the Major part of the Selectmen it was agreed upon and ordered that Oliver Fletcher, Esq., pay to Mr. Samuel Perham, Town Treasurer for the Town of Chelmsford for the year A.D. 1761, the sum of twenty-nine Pounds eight Shillings and two pence lawful money, which the sd. Oliver received of Harrison Gray, Esq., Province Treasurer, a Grant made to the Town of Chelmsford for their last account exhibited for supporting Jean Landrie and Family in this Town, which grant was made on or about the first of April current, £29-8-2.

The names of Jean Landrey and family appear most frequently in the *Town Records* from June, 1762, to December, 1764, but it is shown by the following that they came to town in 1756:

1756. Jean Landrie and a large family, being French from Nova Scotia, were thrown upon the town and maintained at the public expense, until the end of the war in 1763, at an expenditure of £200, which was reimbursed by the province, agreeable to an order of Counsel.

Chelmsford, Oct 24, 1757. In obedience & pursuant to an Order of the Great and General Court of the Province of the Massachusetts Bay, made & passed the 21st Day of January A.D. 1757.

The following is a true list of the several French Persons names in the Town of Chelmsford, the amount of their age sex & the circumstances of their Health & capacity for Labour.

The Number of French are seventeen.

Vizt. Names	Aged
Jean Landrie a man	62 yrs.
Maudlin his wife	60 weekly & unable to labour & labouring under the misfortune of a broken arm & the charges there of now.

## POOR RELIEF IN A MASSACHUSETTS VILLAGE 455

Vizt. Names	Aged
Paul Landrie his son	22 able to Labour.
Charles Do Do	20 Sickly & not able to Labour
Simon	18 able to Labour
Asam	16 " "
Charles Trawhorn a man	29 Sickly & not able to Labour
Tithorne his wife	29 able to Labour
Mary their daughter	6½
Maudlin " "	5½
Joseph " son	4 sickly
Grigwire " "	3
Margaret " Daughter	0:7 months
Joseph Landrie a son of the sd Jean Landrie	26 years Healthy & able to Labour.
Maudlin his wife	26 " " " " "
Jean their son	2 years sickly and weakly.
Murray Maudlin their daughter	5 months.
	David Spaulding
	Daniel Proctor
	Henry Spaulding
	Jonas Adams
	Andrew Fletcher
	<i>Selectmen of Chelmsford</i>

The selectmen or overseers of the poor of the various towns were ordered to bind out to service all children of the Acadians for whom places could be found. Many were taken from their parents to serve under hard taskmasters. Some of these parents sent to the General Court a petition as follows, signed by Jean Landrey at Chelmsford, and by representatives at Oxford, Concord, Worcester, Andover, and Waltham:

To his Excellency the Governor General of the Province of Massachusetts Bay of New England and to the honorable Gentlemen of the Council.

We have taken the liberty of presenting you this request, as we are in sorrow on account of our children. The loss which we have suffered, of our houses, and brought here and our separations from one another is nothing compared with what we meet with at present, that of taking away our children by force before our eyes. Nature herself cannot endure that. If it were in our power to have our choice we should choose rather the taking away of our bodies and our souls than to be separated from them. Wherefore we pray in pity and to your honors that you would have the goodness to mitigate this cruelty. We have not refused from the first to work for our support of our children, provided it were permitted for our own families. Praying you in mercy to have the goodness to have regard to our Petition, thus doing you will oblige your very humble and very obedient servants.

What treatment they received may be guessed, since this petition was investigated in Council by a committee, their report being accepted April 17, 1756, ordering that "there should be no more binding out, that the Acadians were to be provided with such things as they could work up for necessary clothing, and that they were to be treated with kindness and humanity."

Various subsequent entries show payments from the town treasury for such items to the Landreys as subsistence, wood, and rent; use of cart; care of the family; and, last of all, "rent until the family moved away [December 28, 1764]."

From such records as these emerge certain conclusions as to the care of dependent persons in colonial times which are already familiar. This care was not based on any settled policy except perhaps that of the greatest economy in effort and expenditure. There was no investigation of the homes to which the poor were sent, and no investigation of the dependent's circumstances except where some aid might be drawn from their relatives or some other source.

The January, 1801, town meeting was asked "to see if the Town will appoint some suitable person or persons to make inquiry and see if there is an estate belonging to the widow Abigail Bates that can be recovered for her support, or to act anything relative thereto that the town may think proper." It was voted "to choose an agent and make inquiry to see if there is any estate belonging to the widow Abigail Bates that can be recovered for her support."

The February, 1803, warrant contained this article:

Whereas Lt. Elijah Proctor has made application to the selectmen for the support of his mother-in-law, to see if the town will appoint some suitable person or persons to see if there be any property to be found that belongs to her for her support, or to act anything thereon that the Town may think proper.

It was voted "to appoint a committee to examine and see if there is any property to be found belonging to the widow Proctor for her support."

There was no supervision after the dependent person was placed out, and no oversight or control over the living conditions of apprenticed children except, perhaps, as in the case of the Acadians, where the situation was so bad that public sympathy was aroused. The family was not considered as a unit, and little thought was

given to the hardships imposed by its being broken up. With regard to the use of individual treatment for each case, however, the wheel has now turned full circle. What was then the easiest method of care has now become the most adequate when properly investigated and supervised. It must be remembered also that, granted the philosophy of local sovereignty which existed in the colonial town, the rights of inhabitancy and warning out followed naturally, and only through the agency of settlement laws and the introduction of state aid was this autonomy partially broken down in preparation for a later and more comprehensive plan of public relief.

As the number and expense of keeping dependents increased, individual disposition of their cases grew less simple and less satisfactory. Almshouse care was not common in Massachusetts until 1700 or later, although the first almshouse in Boston was built in 1660. Like the entire state, Chelmsford was slow to adopt the almshouse principle. Instead, various experiments were tried by which the responsibility of the town and the cost of support should be decreased, while the poor person was encouraged to become as self-supporting as possible by his own efforts. From being boarded out first for short periods and then for a year or more, the authorities turned to the vendue or auction, where the "paupers" were auctioned off to the lowest bidder, singly or together, for a specified period.

In 1796, there were the following entries:

To see if the Town will allow Mr. Ephraim Parkhurst 1 shilling a week for finding house room and fier wood for the widow Ruth Dutton from the last day of February last past to the first of September following, or allow it to Deacon Aaron Chamberlin for his bidding her off at the vendue and his trouble, or to act anything thereon that they may think proper.

Voted, to give Deacon Aaron Chamberlin one shilling per week for his bidding off the widow Ruth Dutton and for his trouble.

In December, 1815, the following article appeared in the warrant for a town meeting:

To see if the Town will give some directions respecting the support of the poor or act anything respecting their support that the Town may think proper.

Voted, That the overseers of the poor be directed to give contract for the support of town and state paupers which are or may be within the limits of the town of Chelmsford fc: the ensuing year, to commence on the first Monday in

February next, that such suitable persons as will undertake the same for the lowest sum to be ascertained at public vendue of paupers, said contract to include all expenses of every nature arising within said town for their support, clothing and nursing, doctoring, burials, etc., provided they be kept and supported to the acceptance of the Overseers of the Poor, and that the undertaker receive of the town all the money the town may receive of the state for the paupers aforesaid, and shall pay all expenses which may arise from the absconding of any pauper which may have been committed to him for support by the Overseers aforesaid, with such further conditions as the overseers may think proper.

Where all the "paupers" were taken together, a "private poor farm" might be said to have existed; and later, when "written and sealed proposals for supporting the poor" were given, this type of care was quite definitely established.

May 4, 1801. By desire of Samuel Marshall and others to see if the Town will take into consideration the propriety of John Dunn or other in his circumstances to keeping the poor of this town, or act anything thereon that the Town may think proper.

Voted, That the poor be taken from John Dunn's.

Feb. 22, 1812. To see in what way and manner the Town will support their poor the year ensuing, and act anything thereon or relative thereto that the Town may think proper.

Voted, That the poor be let out by the 6 months or the year or other ways as the Selectmen may think proper.

May, 1821. Voted, That the selectmen be directed to receive written and sealed proposals for supporting the poor of the town previous to their putting them out again and then put them out separately or together for 1 or 5 years, as they may think proper.

These methods could not have been entirely satisfactory from the point of view either of economy or of good care for the poor persons.

May 25, 1768. At request of Gershom Proctor and others, to see if the free-holders of this town will think of and come into some method to maintain the poor of this town with less cost and expense to the town than they have been for a number of years past, or act anything that they think proper thereon.

Again and again from 1732 on, the proposal to build or buy a building suitable for an almshouse or workhouse was voted down in the town meeting. In 1769 and in 1786 it was apparently decided to hire a house.

Feb., 1769. At the request of Zachary Emery and others to see what method the town shall think proper to take with Reuben Cory and his family, or any other poor in said town. . . .

Voted, To build or hire an house for the poor of this town for the year ensuing:

Voted, To hire an house;

Voted, To appoint a committee to do this and report at the next meeting;

Voted, That the selectmen take some speedy and effectual meathod to put Reuben Cory into sum business in order to maintain himself and family as far as he is able in case he doth not improve his time for the purpose aforesaid.

1786. To see if the town will proceed to build a workhouse in said town, or to act anything thereon that they may think proper.

Voted, not to build a workhouse.

These recommendations were not carried out, it seems, for in 1796 and 1815 the vendue was still being held. In 1822, however, a committee appointed to investigate the problem of the poor advocated the purchase of a certain piece of property, and by 1823 the town workhouse was opened under the direction of the overseers of the poor. The report of the committee follows:

#### REPORT OF A COMMITTEE ON THE SUBJECT OF THE POOR

The maintaining the poor has become a subject of great interest and importance to many of our towns, and especially so to this town, within a few years, and has now become so burthensome as to render it highly necessary to introduce some less expensive method of supporting them, as well as to check the increase of pauperism.

This town has generally adopted the method first introduced here, which is to put out the poor annually to the lowest bidder at auction by the week. This custom originated probably when the number of the poor was few and the expenses small and no doubt was at that time the best method which the town could adopt. But inasmuch as the number and expenses of our poor have greatly increased and continue to increase, your committee are of opinion that the time has arrived when the town ought at least to make an effort to reduce the expenses of their poor by introducing some new system of supporting them. As there is little prospect of the number of our poor's being less, the town probably would prefer making some lasting and permanent provision for their support. 56 persons have been either partly or wholly supported by the town during the present year, and from information received from the selectmen it is calculated that the expense of our poor this year will not be less than \$1354.00 and may amount to more of this sum. \$60 is paid for house rent the present year.

What new system will best promote the interest of the town, experience must determine; but your committee are of opinion that it is expedient for the town

to try some new method of maintaining their poor, and from the best opinion which they have obtained on the subject, they are induced to recommend to the town to purchase a farm with buildings convenient for their accommodation, so that the poor may be employed and supported on said farm, subject to such orders, rules and regulations as the town shall see fit to adopt. With this view your committee have examined several farms in this town offered for sale, and are of opinion that the farm owned by Capt. Salathiel Adams will best accommodate the town; this farm contains about 120 acres, is well supplied with wood, is capable of great improvements, may be bought for \$2950, and by your committee is considered to be well worth the sum. They therefore recommend that the town purchase the farm owned by Capt. Salathiel Adams for the accommodation of the poor of this town, and that after the first Tuesday in February next the poor be supported and employed on said farm. All which is respectfully submitted by

Josiah Fletcher B. Butterfield John Butterfield David Perham Joel Adams	}	<i>Committee</i>
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Jonathan Perham, *Town Clerk*  
 [November, 1822]

The rest of the story is told by the following records:

This report being accepted by the town, it was

Voted, To choose a committee to take a deed of the farm of Captain Salathiel Adams.

Voted, That said committee consist of 3 persons.

Voted, For said committee, and chose Jonathan Perham, Joel Adams, and Capt. Josiah Fletcher.

Voted & Instructed the above committee to borrow on the credit of the town the sum of \$3500 for the purpose of paying for the farm of Capt. Salathiel Adams and putting the same in repair and stocking the farm for the reception of the poor.

Voted & Instructed the Overseers of the Poor to provide such help both mens and womens, as they may think proper for the care of the poor.

At the March, 1823, town meeting it was

Voted, That the house lately bought by the town of Capt. Salathiel Adams be constituted a workhouse wherein the poor of this town shall be employed.

Voted, That the Overseers of the Poor be overseers of said workhouse.

Voted, That the Overseers of the Poor be directed to prepare by-laws and orders for the government of said workhouse and report the same to the annual meeting in April next.

Voted, That the Overseers of the Poor be directed to keep an accurate account of all the expenses of supporting the poor at the said workhouse, and report the same to the town at their annual meeting in March, 1824.

The "Report of the Committee who Purchased the Farm for the Poor" follows:

**REPORT OF THE COMMITTEE WHO PURCHASED THE FARM  
FOR THE POOR**

The committee appointed to take a deed of the farm of Capt. Salathiel Adams and to make the necessary preparations for the reception of the poor have attended to that duty, as stated in the following report.

On the first day of February last your committee received a deed of the farm of Capt. Salathiel Adams to the inhabitants of Chelmsford, for which they paid \$2950. They have also, agreeably to the vote of the town, borrowed the sum of \$3500 on the credit of the town and have given notes for the same to the following persons, viz.:

To Capt. Abraham Prescott, do.,	\$1500
To Abbott and Fletcher, do.,	600
To Capt. John Butterfield, do.,	426
To Henry Adams, do.,	300
To Samuel Davis, do.,	274
To Zebulon Spaulding, do.,	200
To Oliver Parkhurst, do.,	100
To Moses Parker, do.,	100
<hr/>	
Amounting in all to the sum of	\$3500

Your committee have expended the sum of \$530.72 for provisions, repairs to furniture, stock and other necessaries for the accommodations of the poor, having a balance of \$19.28 unexpended. They further request the town to direct your committee to pay said balance to the Overseers of the Poor, and that your committee be discharged from further service.

All which is respectfully submitted.

Jonathan Perham  
Joel Adams  
Josiah Fletcher } *Committee*

Joel Adams, *Town Clerk*

[Reported and accepted on March 3, 1823]

Then came the need of regulations for the workhouse, according to Article VII of the Warrant for the April town meeting, 1823:

To see if the town will accept of the regulations and by-laws made by the overseers of the workhouse for the government of the same, or act anything thereon that the town think proper.

Voted, To accept of the regulations and by-laws made by the overseers of the workhouse, and that the same be adopted by the town.

The following are by-laws and regulations made by the Overseers of the Poor and adopted and approved of by the town in legal town meeting on the 7th day of April, A.D. 1823, to wit:

At a stated monthly town meeting of the overseers of the workhouse in the town of Chelmsford the 6th day of March, 1823, the following orders and regulations were made and are now presented to the town for their approbation, viz.:

#### BY-LAWS

#### OR

#### ORDERS AND REGULATIONS FOR CHELMSFORD WORKHOUSE

1. The Overseers of the Poor shall have the inspection and government of the workhouse, with full powers to appoint a master and needful assistants, and to contract with them for their wages. Also to remove them from said trust whenever they shall deem it expedient.
2. The said Overseers shall meet at the workhouse on the first Saturday in every month at 2 of the clock, P.M., as their stated monthly meeting, to make such orders and regulations relating to such house as they shall judge necessary. One of the overseers shall visit the workhouse once a week, to ascertain if the master thereof conforms to the rules and regulations of the said workhouse.
3. Whenever any person liable to be sent to said workhouse shall be sent there by an order in writing of one or more of the said overseers or by any justice of the peace on complaint, it shall be the duty of said master to receive such person into said workhouse and there support and employ such persons agreeably to the rules and regulations thereof.
4. The master of the workhouse shall keep a book wherein shall be entered all orders and regulations made for the government of said house.
5. The master of the workhouse shall have the control and government of all persons employed therein and shall manage and employ them from time to time as the overseers shall order and direct, and shall keep a book wherein the names of all persons received into said workhouse and the time when received and dismissed shall be entered. He shall also keep an account of the expenses of said workhouse and also an account of the produce of the farm attached to the said workhouse, and also an account of the articles of produce or manufacture sold, and exhibit the same to the Overseers of the Poor whenever thereunto requested.
6. The master of the workhouse shall keep an inventory of the farming tools, household furniture, beds and bedding, and other property belonging to the town.
7. The master of the workhouse shall have power to reward the faithful and

industrious by granting favors and indulgences, but he is at the same time fully empowered and authorized to punish at his discretion the idle, stubborn, disorderly and disobedient by immediate confinement without any food other than bread and water.

8. The master of the workhouse shall cause said house and furniture to be kept clean and in good order, and shall cause habits of cleanliness, neatness and decency to be strictly observed by all persons received into said workhouse.
9. The master of the workhouse shall cause the Lord's Day to be strictly observed.
10. Every person who may be received into said workhouse or be a member thereof must obey the orders and regulations thereof and the commands of the master, and will be required by him diligently to work and labor as he shall direct, according to age, health and capacity.
11. Every person who shall absent himself from the said workhouse and the appendages thereof and farm thereunto belonging, or go without the limits thereof without leave of the master, or shall conceal him or herself from the master, shall be deemed to be an idle, stubborn and disorderly person, and punished accordingly.
12. The use of spirituous liquors is strictly prohibited except when the master, physician or overseers of the workhouse shall otherwise order; and no person shall be allowed to have or keep in their possession or bring or receive any spirituous liquors into said workhouse.
13. The regulations or bill of fare for persons received into the workhouse shall be as near as possible as follows:

For breakfast and supper, hasty pudding and milk, or molasses, bread and milk, or milk porridge, shells or chockolate; and for dinner each day in the week as follows:

Sunday, baked meats and beans and Indian pudding;

Monday, boiled salt meat and vegetables;

Tuesday, soup;

Wednesday, salt fish and potatoes.

Thursday, roast or baked meat and vegetables;

Friday, stewed beans or peas, with meat;

Saturday, salt fish and potatoes;

provided, however, that suitable food and necessities shall at all times be provided for the sick and infirm, according to their age and condition.

John Butterfield  
Sherebiah Spalding } *Overseers of the Poor*  
Ephraim Adams

In this period of semi-institutional and finally institutional care, there appears a stronger sense of responsibility for caring for the poor, doubtless influenced by the offer of state aid and by the im-

possibility of either preventing dependency or confining membership in the dependent group to legal inhabitants. That method of care was apparently considered best which involved the least expenditure on the part of the town and the most effort on the part of the person aided. So the workhouse comes into being, its inmates unclassified as to age, sex, and "offense"; regulated by a fairly complicated set of by-laws and under supervision of the overseers of the poor.

In turn, the mixed almshouse and the workhouse—where little actual work was done because no authority existed to compel labor—are being superseded. Spasmodic care is being supplanted by continuous and supervised care. No longer is a poor person required to "resign herself into the hands of the selectmen to be taken care of by the town," nor, once so "resigned," "to be dealt with as the other poor persons are dealt with." No longer is the poor person forced to face a town meeting which discusses his plight in the baldest of terms; and no longer are the poor given over to the lowest bidder at the venue held at a friendly tavern. The principles and the methods may change, but the problems remain essentially the same—relief of the destitute; care and treatment of the aged, the crippled, the insane, and the blind; treatment of the sick poor; care of dependent and delinquent children; and the unmarried mother. Problems of administration and finance remain, also, as well as those of organization and personnel and interrelationships existing between various interested administrative units and legislative bodies, etc.

If the history of poor relief shows anything at all, it bears witness to the painfully slow growth of public interest and knowledge concerning the problem of dependency and its causes—an interest and knowledge that must be stimulated still further to provide a reasonable and more adequate type of care for these unfortunates.

**PREREQUISITES FOR ADMISSION TO SCHOOLS OF SOCIAL WORK: A REPORT OF THE CURRICULUM COMMITTEE OF THE AMERICAN ASSOCIATION OF SCHOOLS OF SOCIAL WORK**

**A**T AN early meeting in 1936 the Executive Committee directed the Curriculum Committee to study the problem of prerequisites for admission to schools of social work and to make a report at the next annual meeting of the Association. A report, based in part upon the opinions of its subcommittees and in part upon an analysis of the probable relations of the social sciences and psychology to social service administration, was made at the meeting of the Association on January 15, 1937, and a motion was passed for the submission of the report to the member schools for study and criticism. No major objections were made to the report, as presented at the St. Louis meeting, and, after making a few minor changes in phraseology, the report was resubmitted to the Association at the meeting in Indianapolis, May 25, 1937. The entire report was approved for publication, with such changes as the Curriculum Committee might wish to make in the form of presentation, and the five recommendations that appear at the end of the report were adopted as a statement of policy of the Association regarding the preprofessional curriculum.

**I. PROCEDURE IN THE PREPARATION OF THE REPORT**

The Curriculum Committee has fifteen subcommittees which have been studying the content of courses in the professional curriculum for several years. Most of the subcommittees have submitted outlines of the content of these courses. It was believed that the members of the subcommittees had of necessity given some thought to prerequisites for the professional courses. Consequently, the subcommittees were canvassed for the opinions of the members regarding prerequisites for the particular professional courses which they had outlined. The Curriculum Committee submitted six questions to the subcommittees to guide them in the consideration of preprofessional courses. The questions were as follows:

1. Is there any specific course of undergraduate study which would prepare a student for a better understanding of the course which your subcommittee outlined?
2. In order to graduate from an accredited college, a student must have a field of concentration. How would you rank the following subjects from the viewpoint of the special interest of your subcommittee?

a) Psychology	f) English literature and composition
b) Sociology	g) Mathematics
c) Economics	h) Physics
d) Political science	i) Chemistry
e) Biology	j) Modern language
3. Are there specific one-term or one-semester courses, such as the following, which preprofessional social service students should take?

a) Physiology	c) Hygiene
b) Public health	d) English composition
4. The schools of medicine and the schools of law lay down some very specific preprofessional conditions for admission. Should the schools of social work expect in time to do likewise?
5. Should introductory courses in, for example, case work or public welfare, be included in the preprofessional curriculum? Or perhaps a survey course, such as is usually called "The Field of Social Work"?
6. In your experience as a teacher in a school of social work, have students with any particular academic background stood out? Or would you say that general intelligence and good personality so outweigh academic background that it makes no difference what has been the undergraduate courses of study?

Members of the subcommittees confined their replies largely to the six questions stated above, and the similarity of opinions expressed was striking. From these replies and from their own analysis of the problem the Curriculum Committee formulated four propositions, as follows: (1) members of the faculties of schools of social work regard the social sciences and psychology as logical background courses for students who contemplate attending a school of social work; (2) the subjects of economics, political science, psychology, and sociology are the sciences most closely related to professional courses; (3) the schools of social work should move toward the adoption of prerequisites, after the manner of medicine and law; and (4) there is general agreement that introductory courses, other than one on the "field of social work," should not be given to undergraduates who expect to enter schools of social work.

In naming these social sciences and psychology as specifically re-

lated to education for social service, the Curriculum Committee does not wish to minimize the importance of a broad cultural education for undergraduates. History, biology, and English literature and composition should be mentioned in particular; and courses in mathematics, physical science, and philosophy have the same cultural value for students of social work that they do for any other group of professional students. It is assumed that all undergraduates will include courses in these subjects as a part of their general education.

Considerable precedent for the adoption of a preprofessional plan of study is to be found in the position that has for a number of years been maintained by the American Association of Social Workers. Certain preprofessional academic work is specified in the requirements for membership in this Association. In addition to the fulfilment of definitely professional conditions, the applicant must have satisfactorily completed fifteen semester hours of social and biological science for junior membership and twenty semester hours of social and biological science for membership. "Any courses in Sociology, Economics, Political Science, Psychology and Psychiatry, Anthropology, and Biology, may be submitted as social and biological sciences," says the official statement, although certain other subjects may be offered for consideration as substitutes. Hence, in moving toward an integration of the professional and the preprofessional curricula, the American Association of Schools of Social Work is not only following the lead of the older professions but is in agreement with the professional organization of social workers.

## 2. OTHER FACTORS RELATED TO THE DETERMINATION OF PREREQUISITES

The conception of the scope, and perhaps the content, of social work is changing rapidly. The term "social work" was a few years ago largely identified with social case work; some group work and community organization were recognized as social work, but what came to be called "public welfare work" was for a period of years almost ruled out. Social work was par excellence private social case work—family case work, medical social work, psychiatric social work, and child welfare. Experience with relief during the depres-

sion and the passage of the federal Social Security Act have elevated public welfare work and social insurance to the dominant place in the field of social welfare activities. The British term "social services" probably describes the present layout of social welfare activities better than the term "social work" does. Social case work is now only one of the professional activities that a social agency carries on, but it still remains one of the basic forms of professional training for any social service position. It might properly be regarded as the *materia medica* of social work. The methods of social case work continue to be of the highest importance. There are, however, many persons, such as executives, subexecutives, statisticians, research workers, and employment service interviewers, who are engaged at different points in the social service system and who, by the test of their objectives, do social work, yet they are not case-workers. Mr. Walter West emphasizes this point in his article in the *Compass* for December, 1936, when he says:

I suspect that much of the lack of conviction about the schools of social work reflects a lack of understanding of the vital fact that social work is more than a particular and limited craft practice which certain agencies emphasize. . . .

Professional development in social work is synonymous with increasing knowledge about social problems—knowledge which is tested scientifically and put into service by the persons to whom it has been transmitted.

The social services have become a factor of major importance in the national economy. They are administrative mechanisms for making broad social-economic adjustments. The establishment of a national system of categorical relief, a federal relief administration, and the beginnings of a national system of social insurance mark the long road we have traveled from the conception of social work that prevailed in the 1920's. The expansion of the social services on this vast scale has implications for the curriculum of the schools of social work.

Social service will continue to deal with individuals, and therefore it must have the services of psychology and psychiatry. Psychiatry is probably a professional subject; but psychology, when it is taught as something more than physiology, seems to be a logical preprofessional subject for students who expect to enter schools of social work. It introduces them to the scientific study of intelligence and of

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individual human behavior, with which they are largely concerned in social case work and, to a considerable extent, in other kinds of social service.

The relation of the social sciences to the social-work curriculum should be considered from two points of view: first, from the viewpoint of their contribution to the understanding of professional courses; and second, from the viewpoint of the broad social effects of welfare policies. Courses in economics provide the student with a knowledge of industrial organization, labor problems, child labor, wages, hours of labor, and taxation, which has to be assumed by the teacher of professional courses and without which the student is at a disadvantage. A knowledge of political science gives the student a general understanding of politics and governmental machinery. When he comes to the study of public welfare administration, juvenile courts, or social insurance, he already has a picture of the governmental framework into which these services must fit and he has some understanding of the nature of political processes that condition the existence and quality of the public social services. Sociology provides the student with a fund of knowledge of the family, folkways, social origins, social psychology, and social problems that is useful as a background in the study of many professional courses. We are accustomed to think of economics, political science, and sociology from the viewpoint of their possible contribution to the understanding of professional courses, just as we think of chemistry as necessary to a student of pharmacology.

But we are less used to thinking of the relation of these social sciences to the broad social effects of welfare policies. When social work was largely limited to pauper relief or to private philanthropy, we could disregard economics, political science, and sociology in this connection. The recent expansion of public welfare organization and social insurance has given them unexpected importance to social welfare administration. Expenditures for public education have for many years exceeded the expenditures for any other governmental function, but social welfare expenditures in the nation during the depression have two or three times exceeded the school expenditures. However much relief expenditures may decrease in the next few years, the social welfare budget is almost certainly to be second only

to the school budget in size. The adoption of policies, such as those represented in the federal Social Security Act, create the data of political science—whatever else they may do. In other words, in the future the public social services will create some of the major problems of political science, and good social welfare administration will require an understanding of these problems of government on the part of social workers who carry on this administration.

Some important economic effects—that is, data for economic research—have resulted from the national relief program. Now we are setting up old age assistance, aid to dependent children, assistance to the blind, old age insurance, and unemployment insurance on a national scale. These services make it certain that the persons receiving them will have in the aggregate greater purchasing power than they would have without them. Even though Title VIII of the Social Security Act may be amended to reduce the anticipated old age reserve fund, there will still be a larger sum of money for the government to invest than it ever had responsibility for before. Furthermore, the funds collected under the state unemployment compensation laws will amount to very large sums, and they must be invested. Economists are concerned about the effects of these potential reserves upon the financial and price structures of the country, and the political scientists will be interested in the effects of these special taxes upon government finance in general. The various social service policies may have important effects upon the labor market—certainly the way in which unemployment compensation and the public employment service are administered will affect the labor market. Sociological effects of social service policies may be reflected in marriage rates, birth-rates, death-rates, and the growth of pressure groups. Thus, in addition to thinking of the social sciences as prerequisites to professional courses, we now have to think of them as providing principles that enter into the determination of social service policies. The ablest social administrators in the future will be concerned about the broad social effects of their policies, and they will have to think of these in terms of economics, political science, and sociology.

To summarize, then, we may say that the three social sciences mentioned in the foregoing discussion and psychology have the fol-

lowing relations to social welfare administration: (1) they provide some of the tools for diagnosis and treatment; (2) they provide some of the principles which should guide in the formulation of policies; and (3) they provide some methods for the measurements of the effects of social service policies.

### 3. RECOMMENDATIONS

The Curriculum Committee proposed that the following recommendations be adopted as the policy of the Association (NOTE: These recommendations were so adopted by the Association at the Indianapolis meeting, May 25, 1937, and are now in effect):

1. That economics, political science, psychology, and sociology (including social anthropology) be recognized as the preprofessional subjects most closely related to the social service curriculum
2. That undergraduate colleges be advised to direct prospective students of social service into these departments
3. That, while a student in a school of social work should know something about each of these sciences, it is probably advisable for him to take not less than twelve semester hours or eighteen quarter hours in one of them while doing a less amount of work in the others
4. That the Association is unwilling at this time to designate any one of these four subjects as in general more important than any other
5. That the Association recognizes the value to the student of courses in biology, history, and English literature and composition, and that the Association takes it for granted that students will take considerable work in these subjects

EDITH ABBOTT  
J. E. CUTLER  
ARLIEN JOHNSON

EVERETT KIMBALL  
WALTER W. PETTIT  
R. CLYDE WHITE, *Chairman*

## REORGANIZATION OF THE FEDERAL SOCIAL SERVICES

### THE RECOMMENDATIONS OF THE BROOKINGS INSTITUTION

IN THE spring of 1936 President Roosevelt appointed a Committee on Administrative Management and Senator Byrd secured the appointment of a Select Committee To Investigate the Executive Agencies of the Government. The reorganization of the executive branch of the federal government was, of course, the objective that lay behind the appointment of both of these committees. The President submitted to Congress<sup>1</sup> the report of his Committee, with his approval, in January, 1937, and it was expected that the recommendations of this Committee would be promptly adopted by Congress. Now, however, the outlook seems to have changed, and action on the President's plan for reorganization will apparently be postponed until 1938.

Senator Byrd's Committee used a different method of procedure, and arranged by contract with the Brookings Institution for the preparation of a series of reports which would furnish a basis for reorganization. The *Report on the Government Activities in the Field of Public Welfare*, No. 8 of this series, has recently been released by Senator Byrd. The recommendations in this *Report* differ radically from the plan for a Social Welfare Department submitted by the Committee on Administrative Management, as the excerpts given below from the recommendations (Part II) of the Brookings report indicate. Extracts from this *Report* are reprinted here at some length, because social workers are, of course, much concerned about this subject, and copies of the full *Report* are not generally available. While a reorganization bill providing for a department of social welfare has passed the House, there appears to be no possibility of action by the Senate this session. Comment on the Brookings recommendations is therefore reserved for the December number of the *Social Service Review*.

### PART II. RECOMMENDATIONS

The fundamental problem in the field of social welfare or human relations is simplification; not primarily simplification within the National Government,

<sup>1</sup> *Reorganization of the Executive Departments* (75th Cong., 1st sess.; Senate Doc. 8) Washington: Government Printing Office, 1937. See *Social Service Review*, XI (March, 1937), 101 and 152.

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although that is involved in the problem, but predominantly simplification of the organized relationships between the National Government on the one hand and State and local governments and the general public on the other.

### A. FEDERAL-STATE RELATIONS IN THE FIELD OF SOCIAL WELFARE

The grant-in-aid system has been widely used in the field of social welfare. The principal instances in that field are:

Grants for colleges teaching agriculture and the mechanic arts, for agricultural experiment stations, and for extension work in agricultural communities, administered by the Department of Agriculture.

Grants for vocational education and rehabilitation of disabled workers and for colleges of agriculture and mechanic arts, administered by the Office of Education in the Interior Department.

Grants for the establishment of employment offices, administered by the Employment Service of the Department of Labor.

Grants for the establishment of systems of unemployment insurance, old-age-security insurance, old-age gratuities, aid to the blind, and aid to dependent children, administered by the Social Security Board.

Grants for promoting maternity and infant hygiene and for aiding crippled children, administered by the Children's Bureau of the Department of Labor.

Grants for furthering the promotion of public health, administered by the Public Health Service of the Treasury Department.

From the early days of the Republic the National Government has made appropriations to aid devastated areas or stricken people in the event of disasters such as floods, fires, earthquakes, and prolonged droughts. In the great depression it extended this principle and made appropriations for unemployment relief. Legislation of this type may provide for either loans or outright grants, or for a combination of the two. In the administration of such legislation the more usual practice is for the National Government to work with and through State and local authorities, although in some instances it operates independently if co-operation seems ineffective. Since national funds are being expended, the Federal Government requires accounts and exercises supervision.

In relieving unemployment, the National Government financed States and municipalities through loans and grants, or grants only, to enable these governments to carry out a program of public works. Since the objective was to relieve unemployment, the National Government prescribed certain conditions regarding labor conditions and the employment of persons from the relief rolls and selected projects partly on the basis of the extent to which they would furnish employment. Again the National Government, as a rule, worked with and through State and municipal authorities.

Every agency of the National Government that has these co-operative and supervisory relationships with the States and local governments finds it necessary to maintain either field stations or traveling field officers; and, as has been

shown in Part I of the present report, many of these activities are closely interrelated. If one considers the subject from the point of view of the individual citizen who is in need of governmental services of the types provided under these acts, the situation is one of administrative confusion. For unemployment insurance he deals with the agency set up, or to be set up, in co-operation with the Social Security Board; for employment, with the employment office, in co-operation with the Department of Labor; for vocational education to fit him for better employment, with the agency co-operating with the Office of Education; for relief, if he cannot find employment, with the local relief agency; for compensation, if he is injured in employment, with the State compensation commission; for rehabilitation, with the rehabilitation agency co-operating with the Office of Education. Practically every agency with which he deals very properly demands his personal history for its records; each agency needs to know what has been done for him by the others. For administrative control, reporting, and planning, all must compile and publish statistics and survey local conditions.

#### B. THE NEED FOR INTEGRATION

The study of the situation in this country and the experience of foreign governments which have had years of experience in the administration of social-welfare legislation demonstrates that for some years the United States will be struggling with the problem of devising an efficient and economic system of administration for its welfare work. Because of our system of government the problem in the United States will be far more difficult than it has been in other countries. It would seem that the National Government, which is furnishing finances, leadership, and even exercising no small measure of coercion, should endeavor to develop an integrated system in the States, and it would further seem that the first step in this direction would be integration in the National Government itself.

##### I. OBSTACLES TO INTEGRATION

When the evidence is examined from the point of view that integration of the national agencies is desirable certain fundamental difficulties are encountered in the way of further integration throughout the entire co-operative system.

1. *Urban-rural differences.*—Experience has demonstrated the marked differences between rural agricultural communities and urban industrial communities. As soon as the National Government entered the relief situation it discovered that these differences profoundly influenced administration, and it was not very long before differentiation in program and administration took place. The Resettlement Administration took over a good deal of the rural work, and when the Social Security Act was passed both unemployment insurance and old-age security insurance were provided for wage earners on industrial pay rolls; and farmers and farm laborers were excluded. . . .

The Resettlement Administration was developed out of the experience gained in dealing with the crisis caused by the depression. In so far as its work deals

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with rural and agricultural communities it has in the main been dealing with chronic ills rendered acute by the depression. Whether treatment of the chronic ills shall be continued is of course a question of policy for Congress to determine. If it is continued that part of the work of the Resettlement Administration that deals with the rehabilitation of rural agricultural workers apparently belongs in the jurisdiction of the Department of Agriculture, to which it has already been transferred and an effort should be made to develop in co-operation with the States a personnel that will be especially equipped to work intimately with individual farmers and farm families, supplying to them the needed degree of aid in planning and executing a sound program. The situation appears to call for giving to the rural workers in rehabilitation, in addition to their knowledge of agriculture and farm and farm home management, training in dealing with individual and family problems similar to that given professional social workers.

This recommendation relates solely to the work with the families on their farms, including their economic development. It does not apply to what shall be done with submarginal lands from which the families are removed. That is not a welfare problem but a land problem, and recommendations on this score belong in another section.

2. *Group conflicts.*—With respect to welfare activities for the country as a whole and welfare activities in urban communities the basic difficulties in securing integrated administration arise from several group conflicts within the body politic. How these conflicts shall be resolved is, of course, a matter of policy which belongs to Congress and the people. No effort will here be made to say how they should be settled. Their existence must, however, be frankly stated because they explain in part why related agencies have not been integrated and the success or failure of any plan of integration will depend in part upon how they are worked out. In such a situation it is impossible to give a solution based solely upon a consideration of economy and efficiency of routine administration. Sound routine administration must wait upon the solution of the major problems; it cannot precede it.

The old conflict between capital and labor, between employer and employee, constitutes one of the major difficulties. Labor, and more particularly organized labor, after years of effort succeeded in having established the Department of Labor. One of its readily understandable objectives was to have a friendly representative of labor in the President's Cabinet. The labor group is politically powerful, and appointments to the Cabinet are very properly based, at least in part, upon political consideration. Thus the Department of Labor is regarded as the particular friend and representative of labor, or in other words, as a partisan organization. . . .

A closely related factor is that in the broad field of welfare are included three major professional groups: (1) the physicians, more especially the public health physicians, (2) the educators, and (3) the social workers. The social workers from the inherent nature of their profession deal largely with the economically or

socially retarded or underprivileged, or to use an old terminology, with the defective, dependent, and delinquent classes. Their work leads them to favor progressive labor legislation, social-security legislation, and other legislation that frequently has the endorsement of labor. Differences of opinion exist, of course, but in the main the relationships are friendly and co-operative. Neither the educators nor the physicians have so much in common with the labor group. . . .

Educators would doubtless rather have the Office of Education in a neutral department such as Interior than to go into an integrated welfare department where their agencies might be subordinate to a secretary or other chief who was from another profession in the welfare field.

In the case of the medical profession, another element is present in the situation. Both in the United States and in foreign countries social and economic forces have arisen which tend in the direction of the socialization or institutionalization of the practice of medicine. Public hospitals, sanitoria, clinics, and nursing services have developed and in some cases not only hospital insurance but also health insurance, including the provision of professional medical care, have grown up as well. Many physicians and the American Medical Association believe that such institutionalization of the practice of medicine will destroy the proper relationship between the doctor and his patient. They see that many social workers in their efforts to secure adequate medical care for the lower income groups are advocating the development of public facilities and both hospital and health insurance. Thus many physicians feel that a conflict exists between the public welfare workers and the medical profession and they would oppose any movement to put public health in a Department of Welfare if the physicians were to be subordinated, although some of them have advocated absorbing into a Department of Public Health some of the welfare agencies. As has been pointed out more at length in Part I, the two fields are intimately related both in the National Government and in the State and local governments.

The existence of these conflicts which are not confined to the National Government but run throughout the State and local governments explain why certain conditions which are illogical from the standpoint of a simplified administrative structure have been permitted to continue. For example, the United States Public Health Service, which was originally the Marine Hospital Service, was put originally in the Treasury Department, which was at the time as logical a place as there was for it, because the Treasury dealt with customs and shipping and was moreover at the time the miscellaneous department. It has remained there ever since, although it has no peculiarly intimate relationship with the other activities of the Department. Similarly the Office of Education went into the Interior Department, which was the miscellaneous department at the time the Office of Education was established, and there it has remained although it has no very close administrative relationships with the other agencies of the Department. These locations may be said to be administratively neutral. A Secretary

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of the Treasury is generally drawn from the world of business and finance and he is not likely to interfere with such an established and smooth-running agency as the Public Health Service. Few Secretaries of the Interior have found time to concern themselves in detail with the operation of a professional clearing-house agency such as the Office of Education. Believers in functional organization and integration have repeatedly pointed out the incongruities of the existing structure but nothing has been done about it.

### C. A DEPARTMENT OF WELFARE

#### I. AGENCIES TO BE INCLUDED

Whether anything should be done toward integration is, as has been said, a question of policy which Congress should determine. If an integrated department should be established in the interest of administrative simplicity, both in the National Government and in the State and local governments, the following agencies would come into it on the basis of their duties, responsibilities, and interrelationships.

In the field of labor:

- The Bureau of Labor Statistics
- The Women's Bureau
- The Division of Labor Standards
- The Conciliation Service
- The Employment Service
- The Employment Insurance Unit of the Social Security Board
- The Immigration and Naturalization Service

In the field of education:

- The Office of Education, and Howard University, and the Columbia Institution for the Deaf
- The Division of Vocational Education of the Office of Education (which division might also be placed in the field of labor)

In the field of public health:

- The United States Public Health Service
- Freedman's Hospital
- The Government Hospital for the Insane

In the field of relief:

- The Social Security Board's work in the field of old-age assistance, old-age security insurance, and relief for the blind
- What remains of the Federal Emergency Relief Administration
- What remains of the Works Progress Administration after the emergency is over, especially its research and fact-finding agencies
- The overhead organization of the Civilian Conservation Corps
- The National Youth Administration, or what remains of it

In the field of child welfare:

- The Children's Bureau including its work under the Social Security Act

All the agencies enumerated above have interrelated activities and objectives. Most of them have intimate relationships with the States, including very generally the administration of grants-in-aid for welfare activities. The nucleus of this suggested department would obviously be the present Department of Labor.

## II. POSSIBLE ADDITIONS

If an integrated structure is to be adopted the inclusion of certain other agencies should be considered, although the facts are not quite so conclusive from a purely logical, as distinct from expedient, standpoint.

1. *The Office of Indian Affairs*.—The Office of Indian Affairs, as has been pointed out, renders for the ward Indians all welfare work from prenatal care to the administration of the estates of deceased Indians; and in the fields of health, education, and agricultural extension it is to an increasing degree working co-operatively with the States and local communities. In these fields, moreover, it now employs professional workers who are in many respects comparable with those of agencies listed above which logically fall into an integrated department. The Public Health Service now directs its medical work. It has, on the other hand, the administration of Indian property which includes land, forests, oil, other minerals, and water rights which involve power and irrigation; and the ward Indians are predominantly agriculturalists and rural workers. Since the Indians must, in general, work with their property and since they generally live in sparsely settled areas or in relatively small and remote communities, it is highly questionable whether the property work and the welfare work could be successfully divided. After a fairly detailed field study made by the Brookings Institution in 1926-27 the conclusion was reached that division was administratively impracticable, and undesirable from an economic, social, and educational standpoint. It is not believed that the recent Indian legislation has changed the situation. It would seem, therefore, that wherever the Indian Office is placed, whether it is left in Interior or transferred to Agriculture or to a possible department of welfare, it will overlap other agencies so long as administration of Indian affairs is treated as a unit. Because of the desirability of promoting and developing close relationships between the Indians and the communities within which their reservations are located, a preference is here noted for inclusion of the Indian Service in the category of "welfare" where emphasis will naturally be placed on the human, as distinct from the property, side of the job, but this is a mere preference in a situation where the facts do not dictate a logical decision.

2. *Penal and correctional agencies*.—Transfer of the Bureau of Prisons, Federal Prison Industries, Inc., and the Prison Industries Reorganization Administration to such a department has been considered and such a transfer would be logical. The Prison Industries Reorganization Administration, if its activities are continued, which is distinctly a matter for legislative consideration, would if it stood by itself fall into such a group, because of its intimate relations with such activities as health, education, vocational education, labor,

employment, and the care of juvenile delinquents. But the Bureau of Prisons has the same kind of problems, and in connection with its work has relationships with the States and local governments in connection with prison administration and the placing of Federal prisoners in State and local institutions. Unless the States and the National Government work out co-operative agreements for the care of prisoners there is real danger of serious duplication of facilities between the Nation and the States. The new Federal criminal laws, based on interstate movement of criminals, mean an increasing Federal load and possibly an offsetting diminution of the State load. In the interest of public economy and efficiency co-operation is desirable, but the National Government should unquestionably maintain proper standards in the care and treatment of its prisoners and should not turn them over to the State institutions if these institutions are below a proper standard. Thus, if the States do not reach that standard the National Government will go on adding to its correctional plant.

The suggestion has frequently been made that as in the States correctional institutions are often included under a department of welfare, so they should be in the National Government. Under existing national law, Federal probation and parole officers are appointed by the courts and serve both the judges and the prison officials and, of course, one set of life histories meets the needs of the courts, the Bureau of Investigations, and the Prison Bureau. Separating the Prison Bureau from the Department of Justice apparently would not simplify procedure and would apparently increase rather than diminish personnel. The testimony of Prison Bureau officials, moreover, shows that in the past they have had the cordial co-operation of the various agencies that are in the welfare field. The personnel of the Prison Bureau is at present of the high professional type which would be the objective of an enlightened welfare department and it has shown real leadership in training its personnel and raising prison standards. Some evidence suggests that its insistence upon high standards has complicated co-operation with the States in caring for Federal prisoners, which suggests that the Congress might give consideration to co-operating with the States in building, equipping, and maintaining joint correctional institutions, as the Indian Service has of late years co-operated with Minnesota in building and maintaining a joint sanatorium. The possibilities along this line preclude a recommendation that the Prison Bureau be left in Justice while Prison Industries Reorganization Administration goes to Welfare. It seems desirable to keep them together and for the time being at least to leave the Prison Bureau and the Federal Prison Industries, Inc., its subsidiary, in the Department of Justice.

3. *Bureau of the Census.*—The Bureau of the Census is another one of the Government agencies dealing with subject matters that overlap those of several other departments and hence its location in the departmental structure is a matter of expediency. The unity of the Census Bureau results from its field organization for taking the census, and its specialized personnel, statistical techniques, and mechanical equipment. As has been pointed out elsewhere it is

operated mainly on a project or job basis and the processes on each project have so much in common that the routine work can be done by the same clerks under expert supervision regardless of the subject matter. The number of clerks required for the successive processes on a single project varies widely and even the type of employees required may vary. Economy and efficiency are promoted by having such cyclical or occasional projects carried on in one agency that maintains an experienced force and assigns the employees to the several projects, or even processes within projects as the work requires. It is therefore recommended that the Census Bureau be maintained as a unit, regardless of where it may be located.

If a department of welfare should be created much could be said in favor of placing the Census Bureau in that department. Its inquiries in the fields of population, vital statistics, marriage and divorce, prisoners, juvenile delinquents, and insane and feeble-minded are all clearly and distinctly in the field of welfare. The modern refinements of the census of population, such as the establishment of permanent census tracts within municipalities on the basis of social and economic factors and the development of family statistics, can best be worked out co-operatively with other agencies in the welfare field. The censuses of agriculture, manufactures, and distribution contain much data regarding employment, wages, and so forth, that are of particular concern to the agencies concerned with employment and other labor statistics. The census statistics on State and municipal finance are collected primarily for purely informational purposes. During the depression current data in this field were needed by other agencies, notably the Public Works Administration, Federal Emergency Relief Administration, and Works Progress Administration. Since so many of the agencies which would go into a department of welfare are administering grants in aid and have to have financial data from the States, it would seem as if the financial statistics of States and cities might well be collected by the same department.

Two other factors should be considered in relation to the location of the Census Bureau. Because of the numerous grant-in-aid acts which would be administered through an integrated department of welfare, such a department in co-operation with the States would be maintaining local offices covering the entire country. Conceivably these local offices could be utilized in the Nationwide enumeration of the population, much as local offices are used in the enumeration of the British population. Field enumeration is generally regarded as the weak point in American census practice, because in many States a temporary, *ad hoc* organization has to be built for the job and the enumerators have to be recruited and trained. Experience has demonstrated that better results are obtained where an existing local staff can be utilized at least in part. The Department of Agriculture has had considerable success in the improvement of its statistical work through the development of co-operative relationship with the States. The development of employment offices and social security offices cover-

ing the municipalities offer opportunities for the improvement in the census enumeration in industrial communities. The employment offices might be of material aid in recruiting temporary enumerators because of their knowledge of available personnel.

The Census Bureau has its own tabulating and computing machines, many of them developed in its own experimental laboratory, and it has experienced mechanical tabulation machine operators and statistical clerks. To a limited extent it has operated as a statistical service agency. Were it included in a department of welfare with the Employment Service, the Bureau of Labor Statistics, and the Social Security Board, a large part of the routine mechanical statistical work could be centralized in the Census Bureau. Such a centralization would only be practicable for the routine bulk processes, because the planning, the schedule editing, and the detailed analysis must be done by the specialized agencies, and in general practice it is necessary for the specialized agency to follow closely even the routine processes because technical questions of detail often arise even while these processes are going on.

The creation of new agencies in the welfare field, notably the Employment Service and the Social Security Board, means that the whole subject of statistics in this field must be reworked, because these new agencies have created new sources of data and new administrative needs for data. The number of persons on pay rolls, for example, has long been supplied to the Bureau of Labor Statistics by co-operating employers, and the Census Bureau has collected pay-roll data periodically in connection with its censuses of manufactures and distribution. Now, through the Social Security Act, all pay rolls of employers having eight or more employees will have to be audited by the Government and the Social Security Board will have records of employees. The Census Bureau was, in the depression, called upon to enumerate the unemployed through a special census and another special census had been advocated. The Wagner-Peyser Act and the Employment Service have resulted in an entirely new source of data and an entirely new mechanism for enumeration. Within a few years when these agencies are over the organization and installation period, it should be possible to do a far better job at far less cost.

In view of the magnitude and the cost of comprehensive enumerations in a country as large as the United States it is highly important that the statistical work be integrated as far as possible. Integration would, it is believed, be furthered if the Census Bureau were transferred to a department of welfare, especially since a unified department of welfare, working co-operatively with the States, will have a great influence in promoting uniform accounting and record keeping in the State and local agencies. It seems reasonable to assume that such integration would save some of the duplication that now exists between the States and the National Government in the collection, preparation, and publication of statistics.

4. *Housing agencies.*—An integrated department of welfare would have, as is apparent from the detailed study in Part I, a deep concern with the social and economic aspects of housing for people in the lower income brackets. The agencies assembled in such an organization would be dealing with many factors which are brought together in the problems of housing and slum clearance, such as wages, employment, health, delinquency, dependency, recreation, and even education. Investigating and reporting on the social and economic aspects of housing and housing legislation would be an inherent part of their work.

In the field of housing, as has been pointed out in Part I, a clear distinction must be made between (1) Government participation in the fields of home mortgages and of construction, maintenance, and repair of homes for persons whose incomes are well above the minimum health and decency standard, and (2) slum clearance and the provision of sanitary housing for persons in the lower-income brackets. With provisions designed to facilitate the financing of ordinary mortgages and the construction, repair, and maintenance of housing for the well to do or moderately well to do, a department of social welfare would have little immediate concern, because the matters involved are primarily financial. Such a department would, however, be the logical place in which to put any Federal agency which is engaged in fostering or carrying out any Federal program for slum clearance and the provision of low-cost housing for persons in the low-income brackets.

It is therefore recommended that the Housing Division of the Public Works Administration and the suburban housing work of the Resettlement Administration be transferred to the integrated department of public welfare if one is established, to constitute a bureau of housing in that department.

If Congress should provide for a national housing program through grants in aid to the States, it would appear desirable to have the grants in aid administered by this department, which would be administering other grants in aid designed for the general purpose of promoting health, education, employment, and social insurance.

In this connection emphasis should be placed on the fact that the administration of low-cost housing after it has been constructed is in part a distinctly welfare function. The public objectives in embarking on a low-cost housing program include promotion of health and the reduction of delinquency and they are to be secured in part by providing for education, recreation, employment, and social insurance. The persons who live in the low-cost houses will be the clients of the other agencies which would be affiliated with the department of welfare. If the National Government wishes to promote the integration of welfare functions in the State and local governments it would seem that this objective could best be secured by having the low-cost housing activities in the welfare department.

5. *Bureau of Home Economics.*—The Bureau of Home Economics is often mentioned as an agency which should be included in an integrated department

of public welfare if one is established, but the arguments for such a transfer are by no means conclusive. The Bureau has, as is shown in Part I, intimate relationships with the scientific bureaus, the experiment stations, and the extension service of the Department of Agriculture, and with the land grant colleges that tie into that Department. Its professional workers are, in the main, trained in the natural as distinguished from the social sciences. They are chemists, physicists, bacteriologists, and physiologists. Only a few are social economists. Only slightly does the Bureau overlap the Bureau of Labor Statistics and the other agencies in the Department of Labor in costs of living and standards of living studies. It overlaps somewhat the Public Health Service in its nutritional studies. These interrelationships, however, seem small in comparison with its interrelationships with other agencies now in the Department of Agriculture. The weight of the argument seems, therefore, in favor of leaving the Bureau where it is. . . .

6. *A consumer agency.*—Considerable sentiment has, however, developed in favor of a department in the interests of the consumer. It is argued that any department which is engaged in advancing the interests of producers cannot adequately represent the interests of the consumers. The interests too frequently are in sharp conflict. Having one department for consumers, covering all their interests would result obviously in much duplication of activities, for consumers' interests lie in so many activities of Government. It should be pointed out, however, that an integrated department of welfare would not be concerned with the promotion of any industry. To a greater extent than either the Department of Agriculture or of Commerce it could represent freely the consumers' interests. Conceivably the Bureau of Home Economics and the Food and Drug Administration might for this reason be transferred to an integrated department of welfare where they could be intimately associated with the Public Health Service. Such a group would be largely concerned with the natural sciences, and the group could have the necessary laboratories and equipment. Thus, the Bureau of Home Economics would be so placed that its work would be departmentally co-ordinated with that of the Bureau of Labor Statistics, the Children's Bureau, and the Office of Education.

7. *The Veterans' Administration.*—The Veterans' Administration is in many respects a welfare agency for the veterans, and conceivably it might be argued that if a department of welfare is established it should be transferred to it. Such a transfer is, however, not recommended because probably nothing more satisfactory than an independent administration for all veterans' affairs could be devised, unless it might be a unified department including both War and Navy. . . .

8. *United States Employees' Compensation Commission.*—The United States Employees' Compensation Commission might conceivably be transferred to a department of welfare, where it would be placed in the group primarily con-

cerned with labor. The chief argument in favor of such a transfer would be that thereby the number of independent establishments would be reduced. . . .

9. *Labor relations agencies.*—Similar statements may be made regarding suggestions that the National Labor Relations Board, and the National Mediation Board be transferred to the Department of Labor or to an integrated department of public welfare. Boards are used in these cases because breadth of view and a judicial attitude and approach are regarded as more important than mere managerial efficiency and rapid execution. Even if they should be transferred in an effort to reduce the number of independent establishments, the boards themselves would probably have to be maintained in such a way that they would not be subject to orders from the administrative head of the department. Again slight savings might result in the costs of housekeeping activities, but again they would probably be relatively small.

10. *Agencies concerned with recreation.*—There are eight departments or independent establishments which contain one or more bureaus or divisions which are occupied more or less intimately with the provision of recreational facilities of one sort or another—physical construction, land, materials and equipment, and leadership—or training and planning for recreational activities. The major units include the Forest Service, the Bureau of Biological Survey, and the Extension Service in the Department of Agriculture; the National Park Service, the Office of Education, the Office of Indian Affairs, and the Bureau of Reclamation in the Department of the Interior; the Bureau of Fisheries in the Department of Commerce; the Public Health Service in the Treasury; the Children's Bureau in the Department of Labor; the Departments of War and Navy; and the Veterans' Administration. Among the emergency agencies, the Works Progress Administration, the Federal Emergency Administration of Public Works, the National Youth Administration, the Civilian Conservation Corps, the Resettlement Administration, the Tennessee Valley Authority, and the National Resources Committee, all carry on activities which are directly or peripherally related to recreation. In the case of none of these agencies, with the possible exception of the Park Service, does recreation assume the role of a predominant function. In most cases recreational values arise as by-products of other activities. Thus, in Public Works Administration and Resettlement Administration housing projects for low-income families, provision is made for recreation for occupants of those projects. Recreational values—sporting and aesthetic—are inherent in the work of the Bureau of Biological Survey which is directed toward study and conservation of wild life. The work of the Civilian Conservation Corps not only provides subsistence and psychologically valuable activity for young men and war veterans but in addition contributes to our national resources for recreation by construction of roads and trails, reforestation and afforestation, and contributing to the conservation and propagation of wild life.

Recreation in the popular sense is one of the avenues of solution to the prob-

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lem of effective utilization of a progressively increasing amount of leisure time for more people. However, its present stature, and prospective development for the immediate future, are not such as to warrant its being regarded as a major category around which governmental functions might advantageously be clustered. Therefore, it is not recommended that any agency be created to absorb all or most of the operating functions carried on by the various units in the Federal Government which contribute directly to recreational programs or resources. It is suggested that an interdepartmental committee be established comparable to the present subcommittee on recreation organized under the auspices of the Treasury, with a small staff and appropriation of its own, to serve as a research agency, a clearing house for information, and a co-ordinating organ....

### D. ALTERNATIVES IN ORGANIZATION OF A DEPARTMENT OF WELFARE

An integrated department of public welfare as has here been described would unquestionably bring about better co-ordination of the activities of the National Government in the field of welfare and more especially of the relationships between the National Government and the States. The fundamental difficulty in the establishment of such a department lies in its overhead control. It is therefore desirable that some consideration be given to this question of overhead control.

The objections to boards or commissioners in charge of administrative activities and the advantages of one-man responsibility and authority are known to all. The burden of proof is against those who propose a board or commission. It does not follow, however, that under no circumstances whatsoever should a board or commission form of organization be used. Too many illustrations can be given from the States where the board form of organization has produced excellent results. In the present instance the single cabinet officer departmental form of organization would be regarded by many persons as open to serious objection and, therefore, the establishment of such a department would be acceptable only if some kind of board control could be devised.

In theory boards have distinct merits in certain situations. They are particularly good where breadth of vision and mature consideration are required, as in planning, in rule making, and in quasi-judicial work. If the members are appointed for overlapping terms, the boards give more continuity of policy and tend to prevent sudden changes of policy. Although they may slow up executive action, they may prevent rapid action in the wrong direction. In some States they have been helpful in preventing upheavals in the personnel on changes in party control of the administrative departments. They permit of giving representation to the various groups which have a particular interest in or concern over the particular agency being administered.

Several factors in the problem of welfare administration in the National Government are such as to make the question of the board or commission form

of organization worthy of serious consideration. They may be briefly summarized as follows:

1. In the field of welfare, final decisions on matters of policy and the detailed management and execution of the enterprise are vested in the State governments. The National Government in the grant-in-aid situations must approve the State plans, serve in an advisory capacity, and exercise so much supervision as is necessary to see that the State complies with the minimum standards and conditions prescribed by the national laws. Thus, the National Government is concerned with broad matters of policy and with the making of rules and regulations giving effect to the general legislation prescribed by Congress. The National Government is not administering the details.

2. In the grant-in-aid development, the States are building systems in co-operation with the National Government. They want the plans carefully matured at the outset and then to be assured of reasonable continuity of policy on the part of the National Government. Particularly, they want to be protected against sudden changes in national administrative policy that are the result of a single change in personnel in the national office. The States may have as much at stake as the National Government.

3. The co-operative enterprises should to the greatest possible extent be protected from partisan administration.

4. In the field of welfare, distinct professions are involved—medicine, education, and social work. No one desires to be subordinated to the other, but they might be willing to be under a board on which each is represented equally, because many of their leaders appreciate the need of co-operation and co-ordination. Similarly, labor and the employers have a distinct interest and neither would want the far-reaching welfare functions to be integrated under the other, yet they are more or less used to serving on boards where each is represented.

#### I. AN ADMINISTRATIVE BOARD

Several different types of boards might be considered. The first would be a board of five appointed by the President and confirmed by the Senate for overlapping terms, one member each, representing (1) labor, (2) industry, (3) the medical profession, (4) educators, and (5) social workers. They might elect their own chairman, the President might designate the chairman, or the member whose term is the nearest to expiration might be chairman. The board would select, subject to civil-service rules, its chief executive officer who should be a career man. The chief executive officer, under the general direction of the board, should be responsible for the overhead administration of the office proper of the board, and each chief of bureau should be responsible for the administration of his own organization subject to the general control of the board.

#### II. A JOINT BOARD

A board could be made up in part of certain of the bureau chiefs of the department ex officio and in part of specially appointed members. The represen-

tation of the three principal professions involved could be secured by having as the ex-officio members the Surgeon-General of the Public Health Service, the Commissioner of Education, and the Chief of the Children's Bureau. The appointed members could represent labor and industry. An objection to this type of board would be that the bureau chiefs would be drawn into some fairly controversial matters of general policy that lie in part beyond the scope of their particular units. If because of their course on the board, the President should desire to make a change, he would have necessarily to change both the board member and the head of the bureau. It seems desirable that the bureau heads should have long tenure and that they should be selected and retained because of their ability to administer their respective organization. Thus although a board made up in part of ex-officio officers might be a little cheaper it has offsetting defects.

### III. DEPARTMENT, WITH ADVISORY BOARD

Another suggestion has been made, that such a department might have a single chief, who would presumably be a Cabinet member, with a full-time representative advisory committee. If the functions of the committee were purely advisory, the head of the department could, if he saw fit, ignore their recommendations. On the other hand, the law could vest in a more or less independent representative board all the quasi-judicial and quasi-legislative functions of the department. The board, for example, could pass finally on all State plans for co-operative organizations set up by the States in order to secure a maximum degree of co-ordination and continuity of policy, and it could hear appeals from the administrative units. It could also serve in an advisory capacity with respect to planning and the co-ordination of activities, and the head of the department could not very well completely ignore its advice because of its legal authority in the quasi-legislative and quasi-judicial functions of the department. Such a board should provide for representation of all the interests previously named, and thus, each group would be represented regardless of the affiliation of the department head. The members of such a representative board would be appointed by the President and have overlapping terms, although the law should probably permit the President to remove any or all members of the board at any time. Thus, in case of an impasse between the board and the head of the department, the President would be free to make such changes in personnel as seemed to him necessary. Such changes might tend to interrupt the continuity of policy which is so desirable in the administration of co-operative agencies built up under grant-in-aid legislation, but even grant-in-aid systems must be subject to Congress and to the executive power of the President.

If such a quasi-legislative and quasi-judicial board were created it would be possible to transfer to it those duties of the Social Security Board and possibly of the Employees' Compensation Commission that require quasi-legislative or quasi-judicial action. Each of these agencies could then be placed under a single executive responsible for direct administration. The board members would not

be responsible for administration. The housekeeping functions for them would be done by the department and except for their own immediate employees, such as executive secretary for the board, stenographer secretaries to the individual members, and perhaps a few file clerks, stenographers, and messengers, they would have no responsibility for appointments, although they might serve in an advisory capacity with respect to appointments.

If the quasi-legislative, quasi-judicial type of board should be used and the head of the department were appointed by the President and confirmed by the Senate and became a member of the Cabinet, the President would, of course, make an entirely free and untrammeled selection of the secretary of the department. If he pleased he could appoint a representative of labor, or of one of the three particularly interested professions, medicine, education, or social work, or he could go outside of these groups. The interested groups would have to look to the board positions for their assurance of recognition in the consideration of the broad matters of policy which come before the department.

If the administrative board of organization should be used, there would be no single head of the department. If the department were to be represented in the Cabinet or an executive council, its chairman would probably serve in that capacity. The chairman presumably would, in that event, be designated by the President. Labor might feel that such a device deprived it of the representation on the President's Cabinet which it secured when the Department of Labor was established, although nothing in the law prescribes that the Secretary of Labor shall be even sympathetic to the interests of labor. It should be pointed out in this connection that nothing prevents the creation of a position of minister without portfolio, or in other words, without administrative responsibility for the detailed administration of a particular department. Such ministers are used as advisors to the executive and follow the work of all departments so far as they are of concern to his general field. In the United States ministers without portfolio have not been used, although there is a real place for them in co-ordinating and planning. The fact that they are not responsible for routine administration of a big department leaves them free to devote themselves to the broader aspects of policy. Conceivably, representation of labor in the President's Cabinet could be definitely provided in this way should the administrative board form be used for a department of welfare, of which the present Department of Labor would naturally form the core. Conceivably, consumers could similarly be represented. The interests of labor and the interests of the consumers are not confined to a single department. Neither labor nor the consumer has great concern over the details of routine administration of any one department; several departments may take action which seriously affects their interests. In any adjustments of the conflict of interests that are involved in the possible creation of a department of welfare, the possibilities of the office of minister without portfolio are worthy of consideration, especially because of the utility of such officials in co-ordination and planning.

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### E. SUMMARY

1. That there should be greater integration of Federal-State relationships in public-welfare work.
2. That co-ordination of Federal activities in the field of welfare might be achieved by the creation of a department of welfare, to include the present activities of the Federal Government in the fields of labor, education, public health, and relief. The present Department of Labor would form the nucleus of such a department.
3. That rural welfare work should remain in the Department of Agriculture.
4. That Indian affairs should remain under the control of a single organization, which might be placed in a department of welfare, transferred to the Department of Agriculture, or retained in the Interior Department.
5. That penal and correctional agencies should remain in the Department of Justice.
6. That the Census Bureau might well be placed in the department of welfare if one is created.
7. That agencies concerned with the slum clearance and low-cost housing projects should be placed in a department of welfare.
8. That the Bureau of Home Economics should remain in the Department of Agriculture.
9. That the Veterans' Administration should remain an independent agency.
10. That no substantial benefits would accrue from placing the Employees' Compensation Commission or the independent labor boards in the Department of Labor or a department of welfare.
11. That it is not feasible to concentrate Federal activities in the field of recreation in a single organization, but that an interdepartmental committee should be created to co-ordinate recreational activities.
12. That a consideration should be given to administering welfare activities through a board or commission, rather than through a department with a single secretary.

## NOTES AND COMMENT

### CIVIL SERVICE AND THE SOCIAL SECURITY BOARD

WHEN the Social Security Act was passed two years ago, it provided that all employees were to be selected by civil service except attorneys and "experts." Senator Wagner objected to this exemption; so did the Administration. While the Social Security Board was thus given the opportunity of exercising this privilege of appointment without competitive or noncompetitive examination, it could nevertheless have utilized the Civil Service Commission in the selection of its experts and thus protected its staff and, also important, set a good example to the states.

But the Board made the unfortunate mistake of appointing all its higher paid employees without an objective merit test. This was not because the civil service has not repeatedly demonstrated its competence in conducting such examinations. The kind of social work and research positions which have been filled for twenty-five years by civil service examinations in the United States Children's Bureau, and for a longer period of time in the United States Bureau of Labor Statistics, were all labeled "experts" by the Social Security Board and appointed without civil service tests. The Comptroller notified the Board he would not pay their salaries until the Civil Service Commission certified that each of the positions filled in this way required an "expert" and the person appointed could so qualify. After this the Board adopted the policy of "clearing" its appointees with the Civil Service Commission. But this, of course, did not mean open competitive examinations, and to a large public these "experts" and attorneys, whatever their qualifications, seemed to be the personal appointees of the Board.

Every intelligent friend of civil service knows that lawyers, doctors, chemists, biologists, social workers, research and statistical investigators, and in the Department of Agriculture, bureau chiefs, have been very properly and competently selected by the United States Civil Service. Indeed, in Washington it is commonly said that "an expert is a person who cannot qualify on a Civil Service examination." This is, of course, not true of the appointments of the Social Security Board, including as they did such nationally known social workers as Frank Bane, Jane Hoey, Ruth Blakeslee, Agnes Van Driel, and well-known research and labor experts as Gordon Wagenet, Merril Murray, I. S. Falk, Helen Jeter, Geoffrey May, and Marion L. Hedges, whose experience and training, by any reasonable test, would have made them available for appointment. But

the method used by the Board in choosing these employees put them under suspicion in Washington and also deprived them of the benefits of the federal Retirement Act since it includes only Civil Service employees.

Why then did the Social Security Board refuse to use the time-honored merit system as the method of selection. Every experienced administrator in Washington knows that "freedom of choice," while apparently avoiding the technicalities of the civil service, always means that eventually politicians either name or veto the appointees. Certainly now the Board must see one of the consequences of its decision is the "rider" to the "Independent Offices Appropriation Bill," which requires the Social Security Board to submit the names of all "experts" and all attorneys receiving salaries of more than \$5,000 a year, to the Senate for confirmation. The President was urged by the National Civil Service Reform League in a telegram sent to the White House in June, to veto the bill on the ground that the requirement of Senate confirmation was "a negation of the merit system in the public service and will ultimately turn these positions over to senatorial patronage." The president and secretary of the League, who signed the telegram, said further that the League "viewed the requirement of confirmation by the Senate of these positions as archaic and unwarranted." It was pointed out that "such confirmation requirement if defensible at all should be strictly confined to policy-determining positions of highest order," and that its approval "would establish an unfortunate precedent and encourage similar requirements for other departments. It would demoralize public service and make the career system as advocated by you impossible." The telegram to the President ended with the earnest hope of the Civil Service Reform League that he would veto the bill, and the officers of the League pointed out that such a veto would follow the precedent set by President Theodore Roosevelt in 1908 in vetoing the Census Bill of that year under similar circumstances, and of President Taft in 1912, when he vetoed the executive and judicial appropriation bill because of a spoils rider.

In spite of the appeal by the Civil Service Reform League, the President signed the bill but he sent a message to the Congress protesting against the rider. In this message the President said:

I regret the inclusion of this provision in the bill. Aside from the hampering effect of the prohibition against receipt of compensation by such employees until confirmed by the Senate, particularly during periods when Congress is not in session, the method adopted for the selection of these employees seems to me unfortunate. In lieu of the present procedure for the appointment of these employees without regard to civil-service laws, I think it would have been preferable to bring the positions within the civil-service system. Under the reor-

ganization of the work of the Civil Service Commission, as contemplated by the pending bill, S. 2700, it is expected that there would be developed improved methods for the examination and selection of such employees. . . . I am writing to express the hope that the Congress may see fit to enact legislation at an early date to place these positions under the merit system. I strongly recommend as urged in my communication to the Congress of June 2, 1937, that all but policy-forming positions in the executive branch of the Government be included within the merit system.

The Board sent to the Senate for confirmation the names of fifty-two persons, thirteen of them from the state of New York, six from Massachusetts, four from Connecticut, three each from Arkansas, Maryland, Tennessee, Virginia, and Washington, two each from the District of Columbia, Louisiana, and Minnesota, and one from each of the following states: California, Georgia, Illinois, Michigan, Mississippi, New Hampshire, Ohio, and Pennsylvania. If this geographical distribution of its experts had come as a result of civil service examination, no one could have complained, but with an Arkansas member of the Commission, the fact that three times as many experts came from Arkansas as from Pennsylvania, Illinois, Michigan, Ohio, or California, and none from Indiana, was difficult to explain to congressmen and senators. Whatever their qualifications, the appointments seemed to the outsider personal ones.

All of these "experts" were confirmed, and most of them, we are glad to say, by August 1. But after July 1, until they had received Senate confirmation, they were left without salary, which is a further injustice to those of the staff who would have preferred a civil service appointment. The real difficulty which the Board now faces is in future appointments to vacancies or to new positions.

#### THE STEEL STRIKE HOMICIDES IN CHICAGO

CHICAGO has been placed in an unenviable position by the tragic consequences of the Memorial Day strike parade before the Republic Steel Company's plant in South Chicago. In the conflict with the Chicago police, ten of the strikers and strike sympathizers were killed, ninety were wounded, including thirty who were shot, and thirty-five of the police were injured, but not by gunshot. There are now available two versions of the events of that day of tragedy—the report of the United States Senate Committee, which severely condemns the Chicago police force as guilty of unjustifiable and unwarranted brutality, and the report of the Coroner's Jury in Chicago, which exonerates the police as acting in self-defense.

The Senate Subcommittee of the Committee on Education and Labor

investigating, under Senate Resolution 266, violations of the rights of free speech and assembly and interference with the right of labor to organize and bargain collectively, has issued a report based on the "Hearings" in Washington. (See the *New York Times*, July 23, 1937.) A full report based on the Committee's studies in the fields of labor espionage, industrial munitioning, anti-union and open-shop activities, is said to be in the course of preparation.

The Committee found that the loss of life in South Chicago and the serious injuries of the Memorial Day encounter "were clearly avoidable by the police." The Committee said that the use of force by the police "must be ascribed either to gross inefficiency in the performance of police duty or a deliberate effort to intimidate the strikers." The Senate Committee also condemn "the action of the responsible authorities" in Chicago since "setting the seal of their approval upon the conduct of the police not only fails to place responsibility where responsibility properly belongs but will invite the repetition of similar incidents in the future."

On the other hand, the Coroner's Jury in Chicago, which "was made up of six unemployed American Legionnaires" had "whitewashed the police with a report of justifiable homicide (*Time*, August 2)."

The Chicago officials, including the Chicago Police Commissioner, were criticized because no clear policy had been laid down for the police to follow in strike duty; and no clear orders had been given to the policemen who were sent to the Republic Steel plant on Memorial Day. It was also charged that the police at the scene not only had their regulation weapons but also had armed themselves with hatchet handles, apparently from the plant of the Republic Steel.

The Senate report charged further that the treatment of the injured strikers and strike sympathizers by the police after the bloody clash "was characterized by the most callous indifference to human life and suffering. Not only did the police neglect the wounded; they prevented the union from giving aid." The Committee describe the treatment of the wounded by the police as indicating further that the use of excessive force was deliberate. Thus the report says:

Our conclusion that the use of excessive force to disperse the marchers was deliberate is confirmed by a consideration of their care of the wounded. . . . Wounded prisoners of war might have expected and received greater solicitude. . . .

By the frank admission of all of the police, no attempt whatsoever was made to render first aid on the field. Nor was there any effort to classify the wounded into those for whom immediate hospitalization was vital, those whose injuries were minor and those for whom medical treatment was already too late. . . .

The wounded and dying strikers were unceremoniously thrown into police patrols along with uninjured prisoners.

The record shows that each patrol wagon was equipped with a stretcher, yet the evidence is clear that not a single stretcher was employed to remove the wounded from the field. Instead, as the photographs establish, the police dragged seriously wounded, unconscious men along the ground.

The Senate Committee laid great stress on their study of the Paramount Newsreel and to the fact that the photographic and medical testimony of the Newsreel were corroborated by a reporter of the *Chicago Daily News*, Ralph Beck, who testified before the Committee that the Chicago Police fired point blank into the crowd. The following paragraphs from the report of the Senate Committee are important:

The newsreel, every frame of which was carefully studied, and the photographs taken at various times during the action give the story in convincing detail. When gas was thrown into the east of the marchers' line the crowd in that section turned and fled, the police in full pursuit. The police then advanced all along the line swinging their clubs and shooting.

The marchers in the front ranks in the center and to the west of the line attempted to escape, only to find their way barred by the mass of tangled bodies of those already shot or fallen in their haste to flee. The police surrounded the mass of fallen men and women, clubbing them as they attempted to rise. In groups of two or three they continued the pursuit, struck laggards to the ground and clubbed the fallen where they lay.

Within a minute those marchers who could had fled the immediate scene. They re-formed at a distance, stood throwing stones at the police for a few minutes, then straggled back to Sam's Place. Many remained stretched out on the field. The police returned to drag them off to patrol wagons and to search the field for weapons and missiles.

The Committee report discusses at some length the contention of the police that they fired either into the air or in self-defense. It is possible to quote only briefly from this important section:

The nature of the police injuries does not argue that the marchers put up marked resistance to the police; the medical testimony of the nature of the marchers' wounds indicates that they were shot in flight. . . .

Common sense tells us that shooting in the air cannot explain forty gunshot wounds, the majority of them in the back. The alternative theory of the police that they shot in self-defense, firing only when they had been thrown to the ground by an assailant, is likewise refuted by the medical, photographic and oral evidence.

We need not here repeat the labored efforts of the police to reconcile back wounds with any rational theory of self-defense. . . . Neither the newsreel nor the newspaper photographs reveal any evidence of resistance on the part of the

marchers. On the contrary, they show at least seven instances of police guns not fired in the air but leveled at those in retreat.

Social workers are concerned here with questions regarding the rights of American citizens. In the first place, whatever may be the status of "sit-down" strikes, picketing is entirely legal (see, e.g., the leading case decided by the U.S. Supreme Court in 1921 in an earlier Chicago steel strike case, 257 U.S. 184) but the courts have found it difficult to draw the line between legal and illegal forms of picketing. However, there is every reason for the most careful conduct of the police at such times if the workers are not to be deprived of their inalienable rights.

In any event, lawlessness was not confined to the strikers. The Mayor of Chicago had charged the Republic Steel with violation of the city's health and building regulations when the nonstrikers were housed in the South Chicago plant. The conditions in the plant where the nonunion men were employed were described by the Mayor of Chicago in his communication to the Company, after reports by the sanitary inspectors, as follows (*New York Times*, June 6, 1937):

These reports show that you are using buildings on your plant for housing a large number of men and that these men are sleeping in the buildings, having their meals there, and are using the plant otherwise for living quarters. The report of the Board of Health shows that in your present use, you are violating a number of health ordinances of the city.

The report of the Building Department shows that these buildings were not constructed for the purpose for which they are now being used and that you have failed to obtain a permit from the Commissioner of Buildings for such use, nor have you complied with the structural requirements provided by the city ordinances for such new use.

The Mayor of Chicago advised the Republic Steel that "this violation of the law must cease within forty-eight hours." However, the Republic Steel moved a limited number of Pullman cars into the yards and the nonunion workers remained there.

Social workers are further concerned with the general subject of the lawlessness of the officers who are the supposed guardians of law and order, and every social worker in this country has undoubtedly studied the Wickersham Report on *Lawlessness in Law Enforcement*<sup>1</sup> since it is our clients who are usually the victims of this kind of lawlessness. The use of the third degree in America and the widespread use of arms by the police are severely condemned in countries like England and Canada. Even if the police believe that men are violating the law, summary homicide,

<sup>1</sup> See Report No. 11 of the National Commission on Law Observance and Enforcement (U.S. Government Printing Office, 1931).

without any trial for the suspected man is not in accordance with the basic principles of our government.

Quite recently (*New York Times*, July 28, 1937) Mayor La Guardia of New York, in addressing the annual convention of chiefs of police of the state of New York, emphasized the fact that while "law and order must be maintained," there must be no bias in the conduct of the police. The following statement of Mayor La Guardia deserves careful attention:

On the other hand, the Police Department belongs to all of the people and not to any one group. The policeman's nightstick must not be used to settle economic issues between groups.

The Federal Government and the State Government have provided tribunals for the settlement of industrial disputes, and both sides must be educated to use these tribunals for the settlement of their differences. Meanwhile, we are going through a difficult transition period. We are at the peak of these disturbances now, but I believe they will diminish and that an era of industrial peace is not distant.

It is encouraging that Police Commissioner Valentine of New York followed the Mayor with careful instructions about the New York "police technique" in dealing with mass picketing. According to the Commissioner, the New York Police made a careful study of newsreel pictures of "the Memorial Day circumstances" in front of the Republic Steel mill in South Chicago, and the newsreel pictures "had been run three times for every commanding officer in the department—once at normal speed and twice in slow-motion" and the commanding police officers had discussed them and lectured on them. It is important that Commissioner Valentine said, finally, that "although the pictures did not show the cause, they did show the result and it was a photographic indictment of a great police department. It was a great lesson."

In the meantime, "Chicago officialdom . . . far from demonstrating remorse" was making preparations "to prosecute, for conspiracy to riot, some 65 strikers, sympathizers, and bystanders who were arrested during the riot" (*Time*, August 2, 1937).

On the day of the tragedy, the police department crowded the persons charged with rioting and the maimed and injured into the same patrol wagons. The account given by the Senate Committee was as follows:

Not only did the police neglect the wounded: they prevented the union from giving aid. Patrolman Kelly testified that he stopped a private car bearing a Red Cross sign, removed two injured men from it and marched them to the patrol wagon. Patrolman Higgins, as an instance of his solicitude, told how he had applied a tourniquet to the thigh of a striker whose artery had been pierced by a bullet. . . .

Although the police testified that only one seriously injured man could safely be carried in a patrol wagon, the testimony established that as many as sixteen marchers, uninjured as well as those whose wounds subsequently proved to be fatal, were piled into one patrol wagon with no regard to their condition or safety.<sup>1</sup>

#### MIGRANT WORKERS—TRANSIENT—HOMELESS

THE migration of workers across state lines is dealt with in a preliminary report submitted to the Senate by the Secretary of Labor, in response to Senate Resolution 298, of the Seventy-fourth Congress. No decision has yet been reached as to whether or not this report will be published. The Senate resolution authorized and directed the Secretary of Labor "to study, survey and investigate the social and economic needs of laborers migrating across State lines, obtaining all facts possible in relation thereto which would not only be of public interest but which would aid the Congress and the Senate in enacting remedial legislation." But no appropriation was made for investigating this subject, and this preliminary inquiry was made with help from the Bureau of Labor Statistics and the Children's Bureau.

On the basis of this report it is pointed out that "migration has brought into focus the distress of large numbers of American workers and the acute problems to the communities with which the migrants come in contact—problems of relief, education, health and of social and economic conflicts." The insufficiency of existing data and the lack of means adequately to investigate the subject cannot, according to the preliminary report, "obscure the widespread and pressing character of the problems which center in the migration of workers."

Among various "tentative findings," social workers will be glad to know that the Secretary of Labor condemns the conditions of migratory life, as observed in the areas recently surveyed, as a threat to the development of good citizenship. She notes that "the migrant and his family tend to be isolated from the normal activities of the community, both because of their enforced mode of travel and living, and because of community prejudices against them." Miss Perkins points out that "the extreme unwillingness of some communities to assimilate the migrant is evidenced by border patrols and strict enforcement of vagrancy laws. It is also reflected

<sup>1</sup> This editorial comment was prepared before the report of the LaFollette Committee had been issued as a public document. This has become available since the foregoing editorial was prepared (see *Senate Report No. 46*, Part II [76th Cong., 1st sess.], 48 pp., with illustrations of some of the incidents described above). In preparing the foregoing comment the *New York Times* report of the Committee was used.

in the difficulties experienced by relief authorities in obtaining funds for the relief of migrants who are in need."

The Secretary's investigators found, as social workers know only too well, that "living accommodations for most migrants are deplorable." Families with as many as six children were found traveling in old cars and trucks. At night they were found sleeping by the roadside, in squatter camps, or crowding into one- or two-room cabins in low-priced tourist camps. Unattached men were reported to be living for the most part, "in congregate shelters maintained by relief agencies or in jungles." Even labor camps provided for migrant agricultural workers are "frequently crowded, inadequately equipped, and insanitary."

The Secretary also points to the lack of medical care and health protection for migrants, which she properly condemns as a menace to the community as well as to the migrants themselves. "The ordinary health services of the community are seldom available to non-residents except in extreme emergencies. Few communities attempt to control venereal and other contagious and infectious diseases among migrant workers."

Finally, there is emphasis on the fact that educational opportunities are either wholly lacking, or "extremely limited for the children of thousands of migrant families, particularly those of migrant agricultural workers. Children old enough to work in the fields are expected to contribute badly needed income, and parents often do not consider it worthwhile to enroll the younger children in school during their short stay in any one community. School authorities, on their part, are frequently lax in enforcing the school attendance laws in cases of children of migrant families."

The fact that public relief in most communities is still dependent upon statutory legal settlement is also dealt with in the report. The lack of uniformity in the settlement laws, the long period required to obtain settlement in some states, and the possibility of losing a settlement in one state before it is acquired in another are said to lead to many persons becoming "stateless." Social workers would confirm this statement of the Secretary very emphatically.

In view of the fact that the Secretary concludes her tentative findings with a statement that relief for migrants has been sharply restricted since the liquidation of the Federal Transient Program, it is hoped that the Congress may again note the general breakdown of the relief program for resident as well as nonresident families and individuals. The Secretary notes that such relief as is available has been generally limited to families with young children, unattached women, and the sick and aged; and she points out that the attempts of both public and private relief agencies to

discourage migrants from applying for assistance has made it impossible even to know the numbers of those who are in need.

But the real difficulty lies in the fact that only inadequate relief is available for the citizens who are known to have had long-time community residence. Until something is done for the resident destitute, it is doubtful whether the Secretary's report or any other report will lead Congress to do anything about the nonresident destitute transients and homeless.

#### CHILD LABOR—GREAT BRITAIN AND THE UNITED STATES

USUALLY social workers fix their minds on much-needed social reforms rather than on what has been accomplished. That we can leave to the "honorable opponents" to point out. But sometimes comfort and courage for new tasks can be derived from an appreciation of the fact that the efforts of the past have brought results. Great Britain began almost fifty years before the United States to make child labor legislation really effective. How do we stand today? The *Report of the British Ministry of Labour for 1936* shows 515,000 boys and 415,000 girls fourteen and fifteen years of age employed in the nonagricultural occupations covered by the British Unemployment Insurance Act. The United States census of occupations made in 1930 including some occupations not covered by these British figures, reported less than 200,000 children "gainfully employed" in nonagricultural occupations. With one-third the population of the United States, Great Britain has therefore some five times as many working children as the United States. Moreover, in the United States public opinion is becoming rapidly converted to a sixteen-year minimum for general employment and an eighteen-year minimum for hazardous occupations. The sixteen-year minimum in the N.R.A. codes won almost universal praise, and in many factories the policy of employing children under that age has not been resumed since the N.R.A. was held unconstitutional. Ohio and Montana have for many years had a sixteen-year state minimum; and since 1933, eight states: Wisconsin, Utah, Pennsylvania, New York, Connecticut, Rhode Island, and North and South Carolina, have enacted sixteen-year laws. The federal Labor Standards Bill fixes a general sixteen-year minimum and eighteen years for hazardous occupations in factories, canneries, and mines producing for interstate commerce. In contrast, Great Britain has recently adopted a fifteen-year minimum but with the emasculating provision that children of fourteen may be certificated for so-called "beneficial employment" by the local school authorities. Even this slight advance does not become effective until 1939,

and in every employment exchange in London there are some hundred applications for juveniles for every juvenile seeking a job. Indeed the *Ministry of Labour Report for 1936* has a section on the "Shortages of Juvenile Labour" and notes that "it was generally reported that employers found difficulty in recruiting juveniles for coal-mining, cotton, and, in some districts, certain heavy engineering work. In many such areas parents kept their children at school until other vacancies were found in the district or elsewhere," and that as a result wages of juveniles have increased and other conditions of employment have improved. Nevertheless the usual beginning wage is still about \$3.00 a week for boys and \$2.50 for girls. All of this is very discouraging in view of the broad foundation laid for the elimination of child labor by Robert Owen, the Earl of Shaftesbury, and other great leaders of nineteenth-century England.

But to return to our own responsibilities, the defeat of the Child Labor Amendment by the Catholic church in New York, the present increase in the numbers of children in service occupations, and the very large numbers employed in agriculture make possible no rest for the weary. The struggle to protect children against premature employment and preserve the years of childhood for training and growth must go on, and those who have enlisted for the period of the war against these evils should include all social workers.

#### THE TWENTY-THIRD INTERNATIONAL LABOR CONFERENCE

**W**HAT the International Labor Conference, which meets annually in Geneva, is able to accomplish depends on the political character of the governments at home—for the government delegates hold the balance of power between the labor and employer delegates. This year, as in most previous conferences, Great Britain threw her great influence against the proposals supported by the workers, and the British government found itself defeated on every major issue.

The *Manchester Guardian* (June 24, 1937), whose representative, Robert Dell, covered all sessions, said with some bitterness:

The great achievement of the Conference is the Convention establishing a 40-hour week in the textile industry. Its adoption was a victory for the United States over British diplomacy. . . .

The result was humiliating for Great Britain, for, whereas the influence of the United States prevented any Latin American State from voting against the Convention—eleven of them voted for it—the British Government was deserted by the whole of the British Commonwealth except India, and found itself in an ignominious minority, supported by India, Japan and three of the most

socially reactionary countries in Europe—Estonia, the Netherlands and Switzerland.

As a result of this Conference the United States has become a predominant influence in the I.L.O. and the leader of progressive countries. . . .

The British Government Delegation did not vote for one of the proposals before the Conference except those concerning safety in the building industry. There has been more plain speaking at this Conference than we have ever heard at Geneva.

While the United States may have been the leading nation in the advocacy of the proposed conventions, to France also belongs much credit for the success achieved.

The Twenty-third Conference was the third in which the United States has participated, and in each the forty-hour week in some form has been the great issue. This year the forty-hour week in textiles was the one that became the real test of strength between the liberal and conservative groups. The Conference, therefore, made labor history when on the next to the last day the textile convention was adopted by a two-thirds majority. Twenty-eight governments finally voted for the Resolution and only six against it, which means, as there were some fifty governments represented, a good many abstained from voting. All the labor delegates voted for the convention, and the employers were almost equally unanimous against it. The United States employer delegate and his technical advisers, who since the N.R.A. have had four years' experience with the forty-hour week, spoke and voted in favor of it. The other employers could not be moved from their position as obstructionists in committee sessions and opponents on the floor.

Two other forty-hour conventions were on the agenda this year—printing and the chemical industry—but although these conventions received large majorities, they failed of the necessary two-thirds and so were lost. However, a resolution proposed by the two leading labor delegates, M. Corneille Mertens of Belgium and M. Léon Jouhaux of France, which directs the governing body of the Organization to place on the agenda for next year's Conference a general forty-hour convention, was carried, so the fight will continue in 1938.

Child labor provoked the same general division as the forty-hour week, but the final vote for the minimum age convention was much larger than for the textile convention. Readers of the *Review* will recall that the First International Labor Conference, which met in Washington in 1919, adopted a child labor convention providing a minimum of fourteen for employment in industry. Conventions fixing an age minimum for employment in agriculture and in maritime occupations were adopted a few

years later, and in 1932 a convention providing for a general fourteen-year minimum for all other occupations, known as the Non-industrial Minimum Age Convention, was adopted. In 1935 the Conference adopted a draft recommendation reported by the Committee on Unemployment among Young Persons, which recommended to the governments a fifteen-year minimum and called for consideration early revision of the conventions in accordance with this recommendation. At the Twenty-third Conference, which met in Geneva in June, 1937, the 1919 and 1932 conventions were both on the agenda for revision. The draft convention prepared by the International Labor Office with which the Committee on Minimum Age began its work followed the lines of the recently enacted British legislation, that is, it fixed a fifteen-year minimum but provided that school or other authorities could release any child at fourteen for so-called "beneficial" employment. Mr. Hallsworth, one of the workers' representatives from Great Britain, pointed out in the Committee that this would undoubtedly mean that in many districts of Great Britain as many as 85 per cent of the children would be released at fourteen under this scheme.

As American delegates knew the English associations of teachers had opposed this provision as impractical of administration and unfair to the children, and as American experience with the poverty provisions contained in many of our labor laws had meant in effect that any child desiring to go to work and able to secure a job would be granted a work permit, the American delegates—government, labor, and employer—opposed this provision in the Committee and were supported especially by the French, Norwegian, and Canadian government representatives and by all the workers' representatives. As a result this clause was eliminated in the Committee from both conventions. The principal opposition governments were the British, Dutch, and Swiss.

It is not possible here to discuss the special provisions for Japan, India, and China more than to note that in the Minimum Age for Industry Convention real gains were made for India over the 1919 standard with assurance of ratification by India; and for China better standards were also adopted but with the promise of ratification by China only if the foreign settlements and establishments enjoying extra-territorial privileges in China will accept the Chinese standard. In the case of Japan the government would not yield an inch. The convention of 1919 fixed twelve years, and this the Japanese government insisted was all it would accept in 1937 with the result that the Committee and finally the Conference adopted for Japan the proposal of the Japanese workers' delegate of a

fourteen-year minimum, an expression of world-opinion which ought to be of some help to Japanese working children.

When the Committee proposals reached the Conference they were adopted by many more than the necessary two-thirds, as several of the opposing governments—Great Britain among them—finally abstained from voting instead of voting in the negative.

Early ratification by several governments which supported the minimum age convention is not to be expected as great changes in the elementary-school organization will be necessary. While the United States is moving rapidly to a universal sixteen-year minimum it is to be hoped that the Minimum Age for Industry Convention will be promptly ratified by the United States, as such action will be of great value in other countries. Ratification of the Non-industrial Convention is less important. It has so many exceptions which were not on the agenda for revision this year, that further revision would seem advisable before ratification by the United States.

A Convention for Safety in Building, to which a recommended building code was attached, and the carefully thought-out recommendations on public works and unemployment were adopted without opposition, as was a resolution proposed by the United States embodying the Woman's Charter. But "no opposition" does not mean unanimity, and probably none of these will receive the consideration by governments which they deserve. Most nations experimented with public works as a relief measure during the depression although none on so large a scale as the United States. The Committee on Public Works canvassed this experience, and its recommendations on long-time planning of public works should be of real interest in the United States.

One remembers a Conference in terms of personalities. Edward P. Mc-Grady, Assistant Secretary of Labor, was called home at the end of the first full week of the Conference, but he was there long enough to nominate the Minister of Labor of the Irish Free State as president of the Conference, to discuss the director's report, and to help in planning the strategy of the American delegation at the Conference. Grace Abbott took his place as head government delegate when he left, and Carter Goodrich was made the other United States government delegate. The latter was especially useful because as United States resident commissioner on leave from Columbia University he had had nine months' experience in Geneva. Henry L. Harriman, the employers' delegate, and Robert J. Watt, the workers' delegate, were active and effective in the Conference and on committees as were the government, labor, and employer technical advisers who did much of the committee work.

## MARRIAGE AND DIVORCE

AT LAST England has found it possible to amend and liberalize its divorce law. As in New York and South Carolina, where divorce is either allowed only for infidelity or not allowed at all, the practice has differed from the theory of the law by a distance as wide as the sky. The history of divorce in England is an interesting and tragic record of the tyranny of the self-righteous. Before 1857 the law recognized no true divorce but allowed a divorce from bed and board, *a mensa et thoro*, which deprived the parties of any right to marital intercourse but did not allow either to marry another. It was true that by a costly procedure of suing successfully for criminal conversation, obtaining action by the ecclesiastical courts and by the House of Lords, it was possible to obtain a complete severance of the bonds. This was described by a satiric justice in the case of a poor man charged with bigamy in the following terms: The defendant's wife had gone off with another man, leaving him in wretched circumstances, and he had found another mate and contracted a bigamous marriage. The words of the learned judge are on record (*R. v. Hall, Times*, April 3, 1843). He said:

It did appear that the prisoner had been hardly used. It was hard for him . . . not to be able to have another wife to live with him, when the former had gone off to live in an improper state with another man. But the law was the same for him as it was for a rich man, and was equally open for him through its aid to obtain relief. But as the rich man would have done he also should have pursued the proper means pointed out by law, whereby to obtain redress of his grievances. He should have brought an action against the man who was living in the way stated with his wife, and he should have obtained damages, and then should have gone to the Ecclesiastical Court, and obtained a divorce [which would have done what seemed to have been done already], and then he should have gone to the House of Lords, and proving all his case and the preliminary proceedings have obtained a full and complete divorce, after which he might if he liked, have married again. The prisoner might perhaps object to this that he had not the money to pay the expenses, which would amount to about five hundred or six hundred pounds—but this did not exempt him from paying the penalty for committing a felony of which he had been convicted.

As the man had brought about the bigamous marriage by representing himself to be a bachelor, he was sent to prison.<sup>1</sup>

In 1857 a complete procedure was authorized by which the husband could obtain freedom on grounds of infidelity, the wife on the ground of incestuous adultery, or adultery coupled with such cruelty as would have entitled her to a divorce *a mensa et thoro*, or adultery plus two years desertion. In 1913 a great commission, which had been sitting for several years,

<sup>1</sup> Lord Merrivale, P.C., *Marriage and Divorce* (London, 1936), pp. 35-36.

reported recommending a number of changes; and in 1923 the husband and wife were placed on an equal footing by eliminating the necessity of her proving cruelty, so that since that time infidelity has remained the only ground.

Recently, however, under the leadership of Mr. Alan P. Herbert, long known as a contributor to *Punch* and more recently as the author of *Holy Deadlock*, and now a member of the House of Commons representing Oxford University, a measure was accepted by the House of Commons, acknowledging—in addition to adultery—desertion, cruelty, habitual drunkenness, and incurable insanity. In each case there are required periods of separation or safeguards in the way of certification and so forth. As the bill passed the Commons, it provided that no action should be brought within five years after the marriage. It was brilliantly debated in the House of Lords, some of the bishops supporting it generously, some grudgingly acknowledging the case for such action but declaring that their position rendered them unable to vote for it. The period of five years was shortened to three, and the courts were given authority to deal with especially hard cases in even a shorter period than three years. The Commons accepted the amendments of the Lords, and when this review appears the bill will have become law.

In the United States there has been much discussion and some developments in practice. New York still refuses to accept desertion as a ground of divorce, while some Illinois judges are finding the statutory provision about cruelty capable of such liberal interpretation in the case of non-residents that Reno may well look upon its advantage as perhaps temporary or precarious. On the other hand, the Illinois Legislature at its last session enacted a three-day waiting period before marriage act and another requiring that both parties present medical evidence of freedom from venereal disease as a condition for securing a marriage license. The effect of these acts was a great rush to the license bureau during the last days before the acts went into effect and during the early days of July a great exodus to the neighboring marriage markets in Indiana. As Illinois has a so-called "uniform marriage evasion act," rendering invalid marriages performed in another state to avoid the requirements of the Illinois law, attention has been called in the daily press to the danger that these may prove to be invalid.

#### PERSONNEL PRACTICES IN MEDICAL SOCIAL WORK IN LOS ANGELES

**I**NCREASING interest among social workers in the technical problems of personnel administration suggests a healthy growth in professional consciousness. An interesting contribution to this field has recently been

made by the Los Angeles chapter of the A.A.S.W.<sup>1</sup> Data were collected by the questionnaire method from thirteen agencies, employing 176 medical social workers. Of this number 88 per cent were employees of five public agencies. The remainder were distributed among eight private agencies.

The summary of findings contains considerable information that is of interest to social workers—especially to those in the field of medical social service. Three agencies in Los Angeles observed a five-day week, and two required six days of work per week. The hours ranged from thirty-eight per week in two agencies (one public and one private) to fifty-four per week in one private clinic. Nine of the thirteen agencies stated that overtime was sometimes required. Reimbursement for automobile travel varied from 4 cents per mile in three agencies to 6 cents per mile in one agency, while six agencies allowed 5 cents per mile and one made a flat monthly grant for this purpose ranging between \$15 and \$20.

Seven agencies made provision for sick leave with full pay. In one agency sick leave was limited to one week and in another could be extended to five weeks. The policy in the public agencies is subject, of course, to civil service regulations and at present is as follows: "No compensation for first day. After second day, 75 per cent of salary is paid for a cumulative period of two weeks, including first day of illness, in any one calendar year. Fifty per cent of salary is paid for additional cumulative period of six weeks in any one calendar year."

More than two-thirds of the agencies permitted leave of absence for professional study. Three of the public agencies allow a maximum of six months without pay for this purpose, and a fourth public agency allows a maximum of three months. Four of the agencies do and eight do not permit time off during the working day to take professional courses. Only four of the private agencies allow time off with pay to attend social-work conferences.

The data relating to salaries are of great interest, especially since they can be compared, at least roughly, with similar material for Chicago based on a study<sup>2</sup> published three years ago. In Los Angeles, salaries of executives ranged from \$110 to \$250 per month, with more than three-fourths receiving \$200 or more. Supervisors received from \$150 to \$176 per month. In the Chicago study, executives and supervisors were included in the same category. The salary range for this combined class was from

<sup>1</sup> The *Review* is indebted to Lillian Wurzel, chairman of the subcommittee that conducted the study, for having made available the unpublished manuscript in which the findings are summarized.

<sup>2</sup> Merrill F. Krughoff, "Personnel and Salaries of Medical and Psychiatric Social Workers in Chicago," *Social Service Review*, VIII (1934), 326-43.

\$90 per month to "\$250 and over," four persons out of a total of twenty falling within the latter brackets. Thus Chicago pays both less and more than Los Angeles and apparently has farther to go if a reasonable degree of standardization is to be achieved.

The salaries of senior workers in Los Angeles varied from \$95 to \$180 per month. Junior workers received from \$70 to \$140 per month. The Chicago study did not distinguish between junior and senior workers. Presumably both were included in the classification "case-workers." Salaries in this group ranged from \$90 to \$210 per month. Thus it would appear that at the beginning level Chicago pays better than Los Angeles.

An interesting comment in the conclusion of the Los Angeles study is as follows:

The agencies studied do not, in general, have written policy manuals. . . . This is one of the main differences . . . between public and private agencies. At least the new worker going into the former type of program knows what to expect since it is in writing . . . while the worker in the private agency will very likely find personnel practices dealt with on an individual and therefore variable basis. In this regard, although policies may be liberally interpreted in the private agency, the worker has, the committee feels, less real security.

#### NATIONAL CONFERENCE OF SOCIAL WORK NEW OFFICERS

A BRIEF account of the National Conference Program, which was on the near horizon when our June number went to press, appeared in that issue. We have now to announce the new officers elected at that time, including the new president, Dr. Solomon Lowenstein, the distinguished executive vice-president of the Federation for the Support of Jewish Philanthropic Societies of New York City. Dr. Lowenstein was president of the National Conference of Jewish Social Work fifteen years ago and has since been president of the New York State Conference of Social Work and the New York City Conference of Social Work. He has also been well known as a very efficient member of the State Board of the New York T.E.R.A. since 1934.

Other officers of the 1938 Conference, which will be held in Seattle, Washington, June 26-July 2, include Dr. Grace L. Coyle, Western Reserve University, as first vice-president; Mr. Forrester B. Washington, director of the Atlantic School of Social Work, second vice-president; Miss Ruth Fitz Simons, assistant director, Department of Public Welfare, State of Washington, third vice-president; and Mr. Arch Mandel, of Dayton, who remains the treasurer of the organization.

The new Committee chairmen are as follows: *Section I, Social Case Work*, Mr. Clinton W. Areson, Domestic Relations Court, New York;

*Section II, Social Group Work*, Mr. Louis Kraft, Jewish Welfare Board, New York; *Section III, Community Organization*, Mr. Charles C. Stillman, school of social administration, Ohio State University; *Section IV, Social Action*, Mr. Fred K. Hoehler, American Public Welfare Association, Chicago. The chairman and committee members of *Section V, Public Welfare Administration*, the most recently organized section of the Conference, will be appointed at the first meeting of the Program Committee next September for the 1937-38 program. Nominations for this section were made in the usual way at Indianapolis for election at Seattle but under the new method of election they must in the meantime be appointed for next year's meeting.

The Conference as a whole was a large, cheerful, and apparently well-satisfied membership in spite of the fact that we have outgrown any possibility of meeting comfortably in places with convention resources like those of Indianapolis. One heard the comment many times, "Howard Knight certainly runs a good Conference," and the fact that the Indianapolis Conference, in spite of the shortage of hotel rooms and difficulties of meeting places, ran so smoothly was a tribute to the efficiency of the general secretary and his staff. Questions have been raised, however, as to how the Conference will continue the old policy of meeting on the invitation of cities that will underwrite a substantial guaranty in the way of providing Conference support, since now so few cities are able to take care of us. The general secretary suggests that we can meet in Atlantic City, or in some similar convention city, every year, only if we prepare for an increase in membership fees. This is something that calls for thoughtful consideration on the part of the Conference membership. The subject of regional conferences was again seriously discussed at the time of the last meeting.

The outstanding emphasis at Indianapolis was the emphasis on the new public welfare programs, which was due to the wide understanding on the part of the Conference membership of the importance of the public social services. Whatever may be true of board members, social workers now understand that only a very small part of the needs of those whom we call our clients can be adequately met by any method of private financing of our social welfare program. The great burdens must be carried by tax-supported agencies. A new determination, clearly announced at meeting after meeting, was that a way must be found to make these public services meet our national needs. This means the abolition of the spoils system in every state and the continued development of state and federal aid in substitution for, or supplementary to, the old local services.

The *National Conference Bulletin* of July has reviewed the programs,

and no attempt to provide another review will be made here. It is important, however, to announce the new officers of the American Association of Social Workers—the re-election of Mr. Linton B. Swift, of New York City, as president; of Harry Greenstein, Baltimore, as first vice-president; of Martha A. Chickering, San Francisco, as second vice-president; of Grace Abbott, of Chicago, as third vice-president; of Leah H. Feder, St. Louis, as secretary; and of Frederick I. Daniels, New York City, as treasurer. The members of the Executive Committee for next year are Herschel Alt, St. Louis; Ruth Blakeslee, Washington, D.C.; Fern Lowry, New York City; Florence M. Mason, Cleveland; Mary A. Howell, Richmond; Pierce Atwater, St. Paul; Ewan Clague, Washington, D.C.; Malcolm S. Nichols, Boston; and Joseph P. Tufts, Pittsburgh.

The American Association of Schools of Social Work, Dr. Elizabeth Wisner of Tulane, chairman, did not elect new officers but took important action at this meeting in suspending from membership certain schools that were offering programs clearly below the standard set by the Association.

#### A FURTHER WORD REGARDING THE UNITED CHARITIES RETIREMENT SYSTEM

THE secretary of the United Charities of Chicago asks us to correct our note in the issue of last December regarding the retirement allowance plan which has been set up by that organization. The secretary suggests that our statement—that the salary basis for the determination of annuities differed from the salary basis of contributions—should be changed, because the median salary in each salary class is the basis for both.

In our comment a question was also raised as to what use was made of the accumulating interest on the contributions. The secretary explains that the insurance company took this into consideration and in lieu of crediting interest to the contributions of individuals, provided a slightly lower premium rate instead.

#### CHARLOTTE CARR, THE NEW HEAD OF HULL-HOUSE

THE resignation of Charlotte Carr, the director of the New York Emergency Relief Bureau, to become the new head of Hull-House, Chicago, will be of interest to the readers of this *Review*. Miss Carr, who held the position of director of the Department of Labor under the Pinchot administration in Pennsylvania for the four years preceding her appointment by Mayor LaGuardia as director of the Emergency Relief Bureau, will bring to her new work in Chicago a remarkable administrative experience and a long-time interest in questions of work and wages that will be welcomed in Chicago. It is very fitting that the great settlement created by Jane Addams should be in the hands of a competent

administrator who has been identified with the cause of labor and with the public social services. Miss Carr succeeds Mrs. Kenneth Rich, one of the long-time residents of the house and director of the Immigrants' Protective League, which has its headquarters in the Hull-House block. During the two years since the death of Miss Addams, Mrs. Rich has been very generously, and very competently, serving as head resident on an entirely voluntary basis. Mrs. Rich, who has given so generously of her time, is continuing her work in the Immigrants' Protective League, and is leaving the settlement in excellent shape for the new head resident.

#### ALICE SALOMON EXILED

**A**LICE SALOMON, the founder and the distinguished head of the first school of social work in Germany, the Sociale Frauenschule of Berlin, who completed a lecture tour across the American continent last winter and who has visited this country on two other occasions since the war, has now been expelled from the Reich by order of the Nazi secret police, according to the *New York Times* (July 13, 1937). Dr. Salomon has many friends among American social workers, and we are sure that our readers will be interested in the following quotations from the article published in the *New York Times* on the date indicated:

Because of an illness and her age Dr. Salomon had received a three-week reprieve, but left the country on June 13. Her whereabouts were unknown here yesterday. Dr. Salomon belongs to a family that, according to official documents, has lived in Germany for more than 225 years. The family residence was changed only once, from a province of Pommern to Berlin. A "protective passport," a document formerly given to Jews of standing, was granted to her great-grandfather in 1765 by King Frederick the Great. She was born in Berlin on April 19, 1872.

Dr. Salomon spent all her life in Berlin. After graduation from school she did voluntary social work and soon became a leader in this field. She organized in 1899 the first annual course for professional social workers. . . . She remained director of the school until 1925, when ill health forced her retirement.

She studied at Berlin University and was graduated as a Ph.D. with a thesis on "The Causes of Unequal Pay for Equal Work of Men and Women." . . .

For her work during the World War she was honored with the Red Cross Medal and the Cross for Merit in the War. She was elected a board member of such philanthropic and social organizations as the Women's Red Cross, the National Council for Social Work, the Society for Social Reform, and she was made an honorary correspondent of the International Labor Office in Geneva.

In 1923 she attended the fiftieth anniversary of the American National Conference of Social Work in Washington as one of the five European guests, the only German, and came back to this country the following year for a lecture tour. She later organized and became president of the International Committee of Schools for Social Work. . . .

On the occasion of a festival organized by friends and fellow-workers to mark her sixtieth birthday, Dr. Salomon received the Silver Medal for Merit to the State which can be bestowed only by the Prussian Cabinet unanimously. The medical faculty of Berlin University gave her an honorary degree of Doctor of Medicine in recognition of her health and research work.

After the period of Nazi persecution began, the Russell Sage Foundation assisted Dr. Alice Salomon in devoting her time to a survey of professional schools of social work and the preparation of what she calls a sociological interpretation of education for social work. Part I of this volume presents Dr. Salomon's point of view and interpretation of the survey, and the European point of view is, of course, very different indeed from anything that we know as professional education in this field in America. Part II lists the schools arranged according to country, with a brief statement about the curriculum and such facts about the curriculum, field work, number of students, and number of degrees as Dr. Salomon was able to determine from the school catalogues. This volume is distributed by the Russell Sage Foundation of New York.

Dr. Salomon's many friends in America will be glad to know that Miss Joanna Colcord of the Russell Sage Foundation has been in correspondence with her since she was exiled from her own country and Miss Colcord reports that Dr. Salomon is living quietly in England and is well and full of courage.

#### IN MEMORIAM

AMOS W. BUTLER was a leading figure at the recent National Conference of Social Work. The eldest of our elder statesmen in social welfare, he received our homage when he walked on the platform on the opening night last June bearing his seventy-six years apparently in health and vigor, and showing his pleasure in again welcoming the Conference over which he presided in 1907 to his home territory. But in less than two months the word comes that he has left us, and we can only try now to recall his services in the development of our social welfare program.

Amos W. Butler was one of the leading figures among the "state board" secretaries of what might be called the second generation. He served as secretary of the Indiana State Board of Charities from 1898 to 1923; he was a familiar figure during these years at meetings of national and state conferences of social work; and during this period he was one of the members of the famous "White House Conference" of 1909, at which the United States Children's Bureau was first suggested. He was actively interested in prison reform and served as a delegate to the International Prison Congress at Prague as recently as 1930, and was a member of the first International Mental Health Conference which met that same year in Washington.

Joseph Lee, of Boston (1862-1937), was a civic reformer in Massachusetts and a leader in the field of public recreation during the period when the small public recreation centers were so widely developed in this country. During the war he was a member of the Commission on Training Camp Activities which was appointed by the Secretary of War in 1917. He also served as president of the War Camp Community Service Committee. He was a member of the Massachusetts Commission on Probation from 1908 to 1912, and was president of the National Recreation Association from 1910 until the time of his death. He organized the Massachusetts Civic League and was president of that organization. He was instrumental in securing much social legislation in Massachusetts.

Ethel Taylor, of the Faculty of the New York School of Social Work, belonged to a younger group of social workers, and her sudden death this summer has cut short a very promising career. Miss Taylor had many friends in different parts of the country who became greatly attached to her during the period when she served the Child Welfare League of America, and more recently she has continued these broad contacts through her position in the New York School. She was a social worker of great devotion to the field she tried to serve, and her work in behalf of her students and the cause of child welfare will be gratefully remembered.

#### PRESIDENT ROOSEVELT MARCHES ON

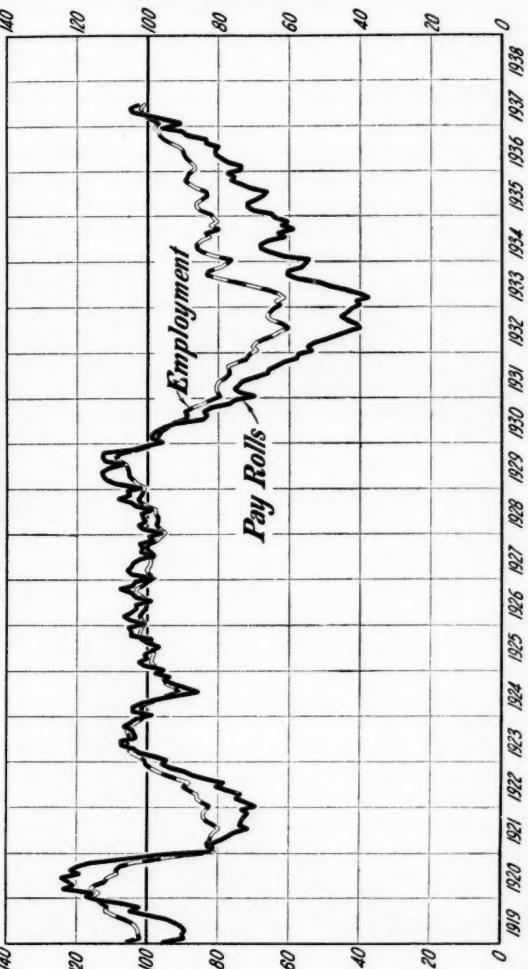
AS THE *Review* goes to press it seems certain that a public housing bill will be enacted before Congress adjourns, but that the House reactionaries functioning through the Rules Committee will not act on the wages, hours, and child labor bill. The Housing Bill has been so amended that its social value has been greatly reduced. However, a beginning of a national program will have been made which, as all students of social reform know, is of the greatest importance.

Newspapers report that in the closing days of the court controversy in July the President was offered support for reorganization of the court if he would abandon his social program. As the objective of his court program was security for social reform, this he could obviously not accept. A coalition of conservative Democrats and Republicans will make progress more difficult in the future unless there is continuing evidence of widespread support for such measures as the wages and hours bill and the power program. President Roosevelt is prepared to keep up the fight for the social program he laid down in his Madison Square Garden speech. Victory will be possible only if those who believe in the program are untiring and resourceful in their support of it.

## EMPLOYMENT & PAY ROLLS ALL MANUFACTURING INDUSTRIES

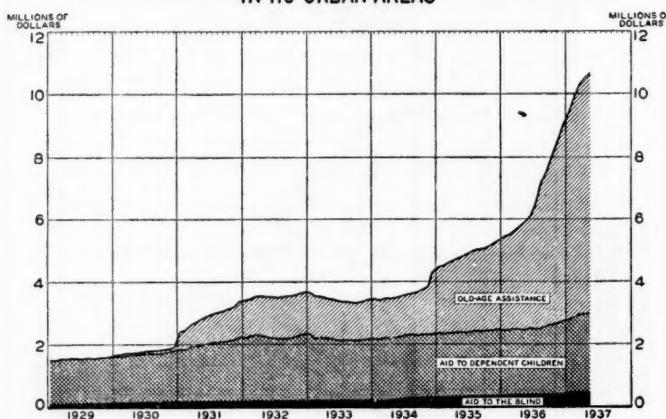
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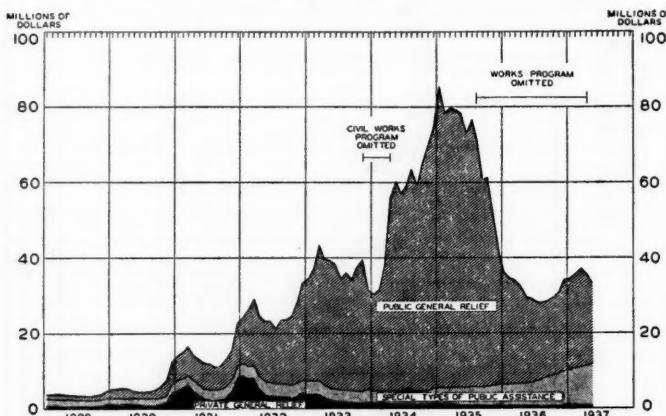


UNITED STATES BUREAU OF LABOR STATISTICS

### OBLIGATIONS INCURRED FOR SPECIAL TYPES OF ASSISTANCE IN 116 URBAN AREAS



### OBLIGATIONS INCURRED FOR RELIEF IN 116 URBAN AREAS



*Social Security Board, Division of Public Assistance Statistics,  
Bureau of Research and Statistics*

## BOOK REVIEWS

*Personality and the Cultural Pattern.* By JAMES S. PLANT, M.D. New York: The Commonwealth Fund, 1937. Pp. 432. \$2.50.

One healthy sign in the social service field today is the interest that is being shown by psychiatrists in the relationship of cultural patterns to the development of personality. The sociologists for some time have been turning to psychiatry for better understandings of some of the phenomena which they observe; recently a few wide-awake psychiatrists have been viewing sociology to discern what that science offers for them. This book by Dr. Plant is a full-fledged endeavor to bring into fruitful combination some of the fundamental concepts of both sciences as these bear upon the development of personality. Here it is not a case of "a psychiatrist looks at sociology"—indeed, the author's thought is directly forged out of his own years of practical experience in knowing and dealing with young individuals in their special life-situations.

Dr. Plant discerns that individuals are what they are largely by virtue of the impact of given circumstances and conditions; their personality development has been to a considerable extent the result of social pressures. To the reviewer's mind, with all that we know about organic conditionings—heredity, constitution, and all the rest of it—and what we have come to recognize as fundamental drives and as deep-lying human motivations, Plant's emphasis upon the insistent causal factors of cultural forces and patterning demonstrates right thinking. Recent studies of the anthropologists are confirmatory, as well as the newer sociological outlook of others than Dr. Plant in the psychiatric world.

It is sheerly impossible in a short review to deal with the thousand-and-one issues that are suggested by this highly thought-provoking volume. Many of the subjects—the personality-culture balance, the structure of the personality, the personality and the family pattern, the school, social work, and many of the others—could be approached from directions somewhat other than those taken by the author with, no doubt, much resultant valuable free discussion. It is to be hoped that someone will find time and space for such a constructively critical review.

This beautifully printed and well-indexed book is not altogether easy reading, especially at the end of a day's work. It embodies the author's rather original way of expressing himself as well as his wholesome originality of thought. It is true that the reviewer could pick out some sentences the meanings of which are not clear to him, and object to some other rather small matters, but this would only amount to carping criticism in the face of a most sincere attempt to set forth sound doctrine.

Dr. Plant is absolutely right; psychiatric theory will require considerable reformulation after it takes pains to orient itself in terms of the social living of the

individuals whom it attempts to understand and treat. There is no sharp line of demarcation between the personality and the cultural pattern. Since preventive psychiatry is thought of by many of us to be the keynote of progress in dealing with the problems of human beings, and since we know that we can accomplish so little by slowly dealing with one human unit after another, we may do well to harken to parts of a paragraph on the last page of the book:

If the personality is as much the result of the dynamic elements of its cultural pattern as it is of its own past life, then psychiatry must know that cultural pattern as it knows the patient's life. If psychiatry has set out to improve the lives of young children so that they shall not lead to devastating adult experiences and problems, then too it must resolutely set its face to the alteration of the cultural pattern. The road is long, and we are just at its beginning—but any view less complete is futile.

WILLIAM HEALY, M.D.

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*The Short Contact in Social Case Work; a Study of Treatment in Time-limited Relationships in Social Work, Vol. I: General Theory and Application to Two Fields—Travelers Aid and Public Welfare; Vol. II: Selected Short Contact Case Records.* By ROBERT S. WILSON, PH.D. New York: National Association for Travelers Aid and Transient Service, 1937. Both vols., \$2.50; single vol., \$1.50.

These two volumes are a welcome addition to the literature of the case-work field. This is particularly true because of the rapid expansion in the field of public welfare with its enormous overload of cases, the speed of operation required if anything is to be accomplished, and the "unprotected" nature of the intake.

The social case-worker, stepping out from the comparative shelter of the private case-working agency into the maelstrom of public social work, has suffered in the last five years because of the feeling that the scientific principles of case work were being ruthlessly sacrificed and from a sense of futility in any effort made to apply case-work techniques to given situations.

These volumes seem to this reviewer to reaffirm the validity of case work and to indicate that even in the short contact results may be obtained by valid techniques and on a professional basis.

Considering case work in terms of long-continued deep therapy, it is obvious that such technique cannot be applied to the mass. However, a selective process which identifies the case, the problem, the innate capacity of the individual, and the skills of the worker, and which recognizes time limitations within which results must be obtained, if at all—in such terms results are secured for which the skilled case-worker need offer no apology, as evidenced by Volume II *Case Records*.

The makeup of the Committee<sup>1</sup> whose findings are embodied in these volumes by Robert S. Wilson, Ph.D., of the National Travelers Aid and Transient Service, guarantees the soundness of the conclusions stated. The Committee defines the

short contact as the worker-client relationship which is limited to one, two, or three interviews, or to a period of two weeks or less. The goals of treatment take into account this time limitation. In other words, the short contact is characterized by an approach which differentiates between a single problem or segment of the clients situation which needs to be treated quickly and the problems which do not bear on the situation at hand. The worker maintains her alertness for other problems which bear less directly on the clients request and the situation . . . her approach to the situation and to the relationship is based on the tacit agreement of the two of them—client and worker—that they will not attempt to resolve all the difficulties . . . but that together they will bend every effort to take care of a problem in a given area in a limited time.

The discussion of the philosophy and techniques in time-limited relationships is helpful, as is the further discussion of specific problems inherent in the public assistance programs, including relief and the "intake desk."

The results in terms of "cases" is encouraging to the overburdened social worker in the public service.

ELLEN C. POTTER, M.D.

DEPARTMENT OF INSTITUTIONS AND  
AGENCIES OF NEW JERSEY

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*The Measurement of Urban Home Environment.* By ALICE M. LEAHY.

Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1936. Pp. 70. \$1.50.

This little book is a clearly presented description of a research project the aim of which was to devise a quasi-quantitative method for measuring home environment. As a piece of research it belongs in the category of efforts which have been made to construct reliable and valid rating scales for various kinds of social and psychological phenomena. Several of the more familiar rating scales are reviewed in the introductory chapter, and the author points out the respects in which these scales are inadequate for the measurement of home environment. Her judgments are based upon her experience as a social worker and as a member of the faculties of two different schools of social work. While her aim is to construct a rating scale, which she calls "The Minnesota Home Status Index," that will be reliable and valid for the study of any problem involving the home environment, she is particularly interested in finding more exact ways of evaluating homes for the purposes of social work.

Dr. Leahy describes carefully the method by which her scale was constructed and shows how reliability and validity were determined by the usual

<sup>1</sup> Ella Weinfurther Reed, Leah Feder, Madeline MacGregor, Amanda McCrary, Leila Kinney, Florence Day, Elsie Jones, Robert S. Wilson.

statistical methods. When the last refinements were made, the scale resulted in highly satisfactory results in so far as the sample of six hundred homes was concerned. The scale is published and may be purchased by anyone who wishes to test it on his own sample of homes in other cities.

Rating scales have not in the past had a great deal of practical use. The one exception to this statement is the intelligence test, general and special. With much justification social case-workers have preferred to rely upon skilful study of the individual case for treatment purposes rather than to attempt to "measure" the factors involved. Nevertheless, with the improvement of face cards and statistical cards which are used in social case work the drift is toward more objective methods of social diagnosis. Dr. Leahy would be the last person to suggest that she has found a superior substitute for the conventional case history, but she has unquestionably made a contribution to sociometrics in the field of social work. It would be an interesting and useful experiment if some child-placing agency could undertake to use the Minnesota Home Status Index as a means of rating a group of homes in which to place children. Another group of homes could be selected by the usual case-history method. A comparison of the results obtained would provide a practical test of the usefulness of this scale for child-placing agencies and would serve as an empirical check upon the mathematical tests applied by Dr. Leahy.

R. CLYDE WHITE

UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO

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*How To Interpret Social Work.* By HELEN CODY BAKER and MARY ROUT-ZAHN. New York: Russell Sage Foundation, 1937. Pp. 79. \$1.00.

*I See by the Papers: A Survey of Chicago Newspaper Treatment of Social Work News.* Published by the Chicago Social Work Publicity Council, 1937. Pp. 60. \$1.00.

Because there are few reliable guidebooks in the field of social work to help the practitioner explain his work to the general public, or any given segment of that public, these new publications may be expected to meet with a cordial reception.

The authors describe the first volume as "a study course in the ABC's of interpretation" and present selected samples of interpretive material from various social agency publicists' scrapbooks to point up their discussion of such subjects as the house organ, newspaper feature articles, annual reports, radio programs, and the use of pictures. They make no attempt to discuss the philosophy of molding public thinking, being content to set down some of the ways and means in current use for putting a given program before the public. For this reason social workers seeking practical help on "how to do it" should find this a useful volume.

One might wish that some space could have been found for a discussion of the content of interpretive material, for all publicity cannot be said to be good

publicity. The authors would probably agree that some of the difficulties in the way of public acceptance and understanding of social work today can be traced to the lack of quality rather than the lack of quantity of interpretation in the past. It would be interesting to know which of two groups have contributed most to public misunderstanding of social work and social workers—social workers who know very little about the art of publicity, or publicity experts with no knowledge of social work. The writer's guess would be the latter.

That there is a need for training facilities for the social-work interpreter of the future there can be no doubt. The authors point out the absence of such facilities at the present time. Social work will require more and better interpreters as time goes on. This manual is a step in the right direction and ought to furnish social-work groups with an abundance of subject matter for discussion and study.

The Chicago chapter of the Social Work Publicity Council is to be congratulated upon the successful completion of an ambitious project in the second volume listed above. Five thousand articles, editorials, and pictures dealing with social work were clipped from five Chicago daily newspapers during four selected months for examination and analysis by a committee of eight. This sizable bundle of clippings revealed surprising things about newspaper treatment of social-work subjects in Chicago.

1. That contrary to general belief considerable space [153 full size pages in four months] was devoted to social-work subjects
2. That while social work news and publicity was long on quantity it was decidedly short on quality
3. That social work publicists have a good deal to learn

One of the interesting sections of the report deals with comments of members of the Chicago working press. It would appear, however, that the committee did not subject these comments to the same critical examination that they devoted to their own material. For example, one press representative is quoted as saying, "We want news, not social work publicity." This puzzling statement was allowed to pass without questioning, despite the fact that it is obviously in need of clarification. It should be apparent to anyone familiar with publicity or journalism that present-day newspaper definitions of what is and what is not news are somewhat baffling.

Newspapers accept and print the most outlandish fabrications of press agents on the ground that such items are "human interest stuff." Examples could be cited that would run to a considerable number to illustrate this point. One recent example, however, will do. Not long ago nearly every newspaper in this country devoted columns of space to a barefaced press-agent stunt which involved a gentleman who chained himself to a radiator in the apartment of the lady of his choice, declaring that he would remain there until she consented to their marriage. No editor could fail to recognize this story as anything but the product of a press agent seeking space for a client. Despite this fact the prin-

cipal wire services sent out thousands of words and pictures describing this event on the ground that it was news.

A perusal of *I See by the Papers* reveals that it is a fairly simple matter to get a newspaper story printed about a social agency in Chicago daily newspapers provided it does not violate the local ground rules. How much the printing of such a story will help to throw light on, or explain, the aims, objectives, and functions of the agency in question cannot be determined. The authors are agreed, however, after a critical examination of thousands of such stories, that Chicago social agencies do not need more publicity as much as they need publicity that really interprets.

THOMAS H. HOARE

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*Federal Justice: Chapters in the History of Justice and the Federal Executive.* By HOMER CUMMINGS, Attorney-General of the United States, and CARL MCFARLAND, special assistant to the Attorney-General of the United States. New York: Macmillan Co., 1937. Pp. ix+576.  
\$4.00.

This large and fully documented volume traces the history of the division of the federal government now known as the Department of Justice and presided over by the Attorney-General of the United States. The volume has special interest in view of the discussion of the last decade and a half of the need of reconstructing the legal administrative organizations so as to bridge the gap between the executive and legislative branches of government on the one hand and the legal and the judicial on the other, the question of what the English would call a "Ministry of Justice." From the point of view of social workers this takes on an importance because of their increasing awareness of the extent to which defects in the administration of justice add to their difficulties in securing justice for their clients. They find themselves concerned not only for the modernizing of the economic and social attitudes of judges in the highest courts but for the revision both of substantive law and of procedure having to do with the administration of the law of domestic relations and of the criminal law and the reconstruction of the judicial structure in accordance with principles of sound economy and reasonable efficiency. They are therefore concerned for the development of agencies such as the judicial councils now set up in about a score of states, for programs of reorganization of the law-enforcing authorities that make the police less "lawless," to quote the Wickersham Commission, and the state's attorneys less political, etc.

It is not possible to call attention to all the points in this volume that have interest for the student of constitutional controversies or of changes of attitude toward administrative relationships. Of special interest to the student of labor problems may be the part played in the Pullman Strike, the question of the "yellow dog" contracts (p. 446), the Bituminous Coal Strike in 1919, and the Railway Shopmen's Strike in 1922. The problem of objective presentation is by

no means a simple one, but the reader is, in general, conscious of a sincere desire to present the issues in all fairness. The story of Attorney-General Palmer and Assistant Secretary of Labor Louis Post illustrates this difficulty, and the reader asks here why, if long condemnatory quotations from the Attorney-General may be cited, a sense of fair play would not have given some space to a statement by Mr. Post concerning the maintenance of civil liberty for which he was struggling.

Another subject of great interest to the student of public welfare is the chapter entitled "Unholy Sanctuary" in which the development of federal participation in law enforcement is traced. Only a few paragraphs are devoted to the subject of prohibition and the word is not found in the Index; but the enactment of the Mann Act, the federal kidnapping law, the law dealing with the transportation of stolen automobiles across state lines, the bestowal on federal agents of new powers to carry arms and to arrest, the development of the central identification bureau, the establishment of a statistical service, the reorganization of the federal prison system, the attempt to give leadership through conferences, and the fostering of interest in the interstate compact are all traced. All these subjects have a very real and pressing importance for the social worker.

The final chapter, in which the subject of the selection of judges and the relationship of the appointing power to the Senate, has special interest at the moment. But that involves the effect of partisan political influence on the administration of justice—too large a subject to be dealt with here.

S. P. BRECKINRIDGE

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*A System of Criminal Judicial Statistics for California.* By RONALD H. BEATTIE. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1936. Pp. xvi+238. \$2.50.

The amount of indignation which is continually expressed by individuals and the press about the administration of criminal justice would lead an Englishman or the mythical Martian to believe that the people of the United States spend a large part of their time thinking up new methods for improving the efficiency of the agencies of criminal justice, but the sober judgment of students of the subject requires them to admit that the indignation is largely forensic. The scientific attitude with respect to criminal justice has hardly penetrated the minds of legislators, judges, and administrators: they have so far not arrived at the elementary decision that simple, reliable data properly recorded, tabulated, and analyzed are fundamental to improvement in the administration of criminal justice. We are not even in a position to say how efficient the machinery of justice is, let alone to make proposals for improvement.

In his excellent sample study of criminal judicial statistics in California Mr. Beattie, of the Bureau of Public Administration of the University of Cali-

fornia, is forced to admit that "the almost complete lack of reliable data on the work done by the multitude of agencies engaged in criminal law enforcement, or on the relative success or failure of criminal justice as a whole, indicated a fundamental need for the development of means and methods of obtaining systematic and accurate information in this field." The purpose of Mr. Beattie's study was to show how this "complete lack" could be permanently removed through a system of individual case reporting to a central state agency which would tabulate the data regularly and analyze them periodically. He remarks that the plan of individual case reporting has usually been rejected on the grounds of complexity and expense, and the method of having courts report summary totals substituted. The only weakness of the summary report is that its scientific value is just about nil. Any social problem that costs the country twelve to fifteen billion dollars per year, which crime is estimated to cost, ought to be serious enough to justify the expenditure of a few hundred thousand dollars per year for a scientific attack on it; and in publishing this volume the University of California has affirmed its belief in the justification of an adequate expenditure for this purpose. (It should be mentioned that other research agencies, such as the Johns Hopkins Institute of Law and the Institute of Criminal Law and Criminology, are similarly on record.)

It is not possible in this review to indicate adequately the content of Mr. Beattie's study because he has let statistics tell the story and has used exposition very sparingly. He describes, however, at some length the methods of reporting and analyzing statistical data from courts and outlines a plan for the organization of a central bureau of criminal judicial statistics for California—obviously his proposals will be equally interesting to other states. After suggesting the plan for permanent organization, he demonstrates methods of procedure by analyzing the criminal judicial statistics of Alameda, Los Angeles, Napa, and San Francisco counties for the fiscal year 1931-32. There are chapters with abundant statistical tables on (1) the volume of felony cases in the superior courts, (2) the disposition of felony cases, (3) the analysis of dispositions on the basis of the offense charged, (4) comparison of information and indictment cases, (5) comparison of felony cases on the basis of the sex of the defendant, (6) punishment imposed after conviction, (7) pleas of guilty and the lesser offense problem, (8) the time factor in the disposition of felony cases in California superior courts, (9) jury and court trials in the disposition of felony cases, (10) disposition of felony cases in San Francisco County analyzed according to defense attorneys, and (11) conclusions drawn from the analysis.

California allows the trial judge less discretion than most states in fixing the sentence, if a prison sentence is imposed, but the law often allows alternative sentences, such as probation, partial probation, jail, or a fine, besides the lesser plea which rests mainly in the hands of the prosecuting attorney. Unfortunately, as he suggests, Mr. Beattie was unable to get information on the previous convictions and sentences of defendants in the counties included in the study. Undoubtedly, California judges vary in sentencing offenders convicted of the

same offense, but some of the variations are most likely due to differences in criminal records. Any system of criminal judicial statistics should include data on previous convictions for both felonies and misdemeanors.

One question should be raised about methods of statistical analysis in this study. In Appendixes IV and V nine tables are given that present in detail an analysis of the time factor in criminal cases. Medians, means, and standard deviations are given. The standard deviations are always large with respect to the means, and in a number of instances they exceed the means. This is due to the fact that the frequency distributions do not have the form of a normal curve but most often resemble an equilateral hyperbola. The few extreme cases in such a distribution distort the mean and the standard deviation and deprive these measures of any significance. The median, perhaps with the quartiles, and an equation of the curve would give a better interpretation of such data.

R. CLYDE WHITE

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*Prisons and Beyond.* By SANFORD BATES. New York: Macmillan Co., 1936. Pp. xiv+334. \$3.50.

To the social worker and the student of public welfare, it seemed nothing short of a tragedy to have Sanford Bates resign from the Bureau of Prisons in the Department of Justice. Coming from service as Commissioner of Corrections in Massachusetts, he brought to the federal government the results of experience in state administration and the realization that, while the administration of the criminal law is highly local, the sources of crime are national if not world-wide and the problems of successful prison administration involve many aspects of interstate relationship. He brought also the experience of Massachusetts with the division of public welfare functions among three separate departments, and interdepartmental co-operation. He came to Washington at a time when the public was prepared to accept the possibility of applying to the prisons modern principles of treatment developed by the psychiatrist and the social worker without jeopardizing public security. Already some steps in the program of reorganization had been taken under the leadership of Mrs. Mabel Willebrandt, Assistant Attorney-General in President Harding's administration, and Mr. Bates was able to see the program developed if not completed. He was likewise able to see and guide the development of federal participation in the solution of a problem that has always seemed insoluble without federal aid, but presenting at the time no hope of federal aid being available. That he could review a plan so competently and logically developed must have been a great satisfaction. Chapter vi entitled "Should Prisoners Work" is an exciting one filled not with despair but with hope which affects the reader who had come to believe that no hopeful aspect of the prison problem could be discovered.

Mr. Bates's volume has interesting appendixes containing a number of the official acts connected with the development of the federal prison system as well as the Declaration of Principles adopted by the American Prison Associa-

tion in 1870 and by no means yet completely embodied in the prison organization of today.

*Prisons and Beyond* has real literary charm. The author has selected delightful and appropriate citations from a wide range of documents or literary presentations. Galsworthy's *Justice* and the directors of the State Prison at Charlestown, Massachusetts, in 1811 contribute to the introduction of the discussion of "The Prison of the Future" (chap. xvi). The author agrees with Margaret Wilson that attempts at punishment are futile if not criminal; he points to possible alternative methods but in the light of the need for community security he is not prepared to abandon the prison program, and by his own work he has shown that it is capable of considerable reorganization and readjustment. That he should leave it to take up preventive work with the young is not evidence of despair but possibly of quest for new channels of cooperation. Those concerned for the further sound development of treatment procedures wish him well in his new undertaking and are grateful for this record of the work already done.

S. P. B.

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*Unemployment and Its Treatment in the United States.* By DOROTHY C. KAHN. New York City: American Association of Social Workers, 1937. Pp. 105. \$1.00.

*Grants-in-Aid of Wages: A Study of the Problem of Supplementary Relief.* By SAYA SCHWARTZ. Philadelphia: County Relief Board, 1937. Pp. 55. (Mimeo graphed.)

Of these two reports the first, which was submitted to the Third International Conference of Social Work, was prepared by the director of the Philadelphia County Relief Bureau, one of America's well-known and most successful relief administrators, who speaks with authority in her field. The report, however, is primarily concerned with the presentation of certain basic information regarding the relief of the unemployed in the United States during the bitter depression years, 1930-36, without appraisal or criticism—"no attempt is made here to appraise the measures described. In the rare instances where conclusions are drawn or opinions expressed, they are based on the data available" (p. 5).

The author deals chronologically with the various relief measures, the Reconstruction Finance Corporation's first federal relief program in 1932, the Federal Emergency Relief Administration beginning in 1933, and the later work-relief programs. But while this volume contains a useful collection of data, selected for the most part from Federal Emergency Relief reports, W.P.A. reports, and other more or less fugitive material, it is unfortunate that her competent knowledge of the field of relief administration was not used for a critical evaluation of some parts of this program.

The special programs under the Federal Emergency Relief Administration are briefly dealt with: the Transient Program, Rural Rehabilitation, the Fed-

eral Surplus Commodities Corporation, Educational Aid, Drought Relief, the Land Program, Rural Resettlement, and Self-Help Co-operatives, each receiving summary treatment. Although the problem of transients is referred to as "one of the most difficult of current relief problems," less than three pages are devoted to this subject. Such relief and recovery measures as Public Roads, Public Works Administration, Emergency Conservation Work, Federal Housing Administration, Home Owners' Loan Corporation, are also dealt with. The last chapter contains a brief statement of the provisions of the Social Security Act.

While Miss Kahn and the American Association of Social Workers have given us a very convenient collection of important data, social workers will be sorry that the International Conference did not give our distinguished American representative a subject that made demands on her ability to discuss critically the facts that are here presented.

Typical of the method of treatment is the following paragraph under the heading, "Relief to Piece out Wages":

One of the most difficult things to explain in the administration of relief is the high incidence of employment existing in the families on relief. In one city 16 per cent of all the families receiving relief had one or more members employed. In another large metropolitan center the percentage is 38, and in certain coal-mining and other industrial towns the percentage rises at times to 90. But examination of the nature of this employment and the wages paid soon clarifies the situation. The average earnings per person in these cases are about \$3.00 per week. Moreover, in some instances the employment is not part time or casual but full time. This was true of 12 per cent of the cases on relief in one city in April, 1934, at a time when the National Recovery Act was presumably in effect [p. 19].

This is a very interesting statement regarding a subject of primary importance, but the authority for these statements is not given. The reader immediately wants to know where the industrial town is with 90 per cent of the families on relief having an employed member. For many readers the situation is not really "clarified," but is further confused by the statement that the average earnings are "about \$3.00 per week." Where are these "average wages" to be found and how widespread is the evil? One would surely like the authority for statements of this kind, and Miss Kahn's critical evaluation and concrete recommendations regarding the policies that ought to be pursued, as well as those that are actually being followed in such situations.

At this point, however, the valuable report of Miss Kahn's research assistant, Mr. Saya Schwartz, on *Grants-in-Aid of Wages*, proves to be a mine of valuable information. In her Foreword to this second report Miss Kahn points out that "although the public generally has believed that relief has been extended to the unemployed only, the fact is that employed persons in substantial numbers early became eligible applicants for this hitherto unavailable form of aid." And Miss Kahn further points out that while "this problem has been stressed by other nations in their efforts to provide assistance, and received early recogni-

tion in this country as an inevitable factor in any relief program, 'euphemistically' this has been called 'supplementary relief'; realistically, however, it should be described as 'grants-in-aid of wages.'"

It is pointed out in the Foreword that "Mr. Schwartz attempted to collect such bits of information as are available" on this method of supplementing low wages, and he has tried "to fill in the gaps with as much original research as was possible, from the experiences of the Philadelphia County Relief Board, and the material and studies available there." There is no doubt that the report will serve the useful purpose indicated, that of stimulating "more detailed studies of the subject" and challenging "interest in the broad economic and social factors which give rise to this type of need."

Social workers will be indebted to Miss Kahn and Mr. Schwartz for these useful reports.

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*Farm Labor in the Yakima Valley, Washington.* By PAUL H. LANDIS and MELVIN S. BROOKS. (State College of Washington, Agricultural Experiment Station, Bull. No. 343.) Pullman, Wash., December, 1936. Pp. 75.

*The Migratory-Casual Worker.* By JOHN N. WEBB. (Works Progress Administration, Division of Social Research.) Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1937. Pp. xix+128.

*Newcomers and Nomads in California.* By WILLIAM T. CROSS and DOROTHY EMBRY CROSS. Stanford University, Calif.: Stanford University Press, 1937. Pp. ix+149. \$1.50.

The hardships and the insecurity endured by the migratory laborers in the United States have long been a foul blemish upon the country's unparalleled record of achievement in the fields of agricultural and industrial production. At times these outcast groups sink out of the focus of public attention and win their bitter bread in the obscurity of public indifference. At other times the framework of circumstances throws their plight into sharp relief. An undoubtedly gain of the depression period has been the renewed concern for the welfare of these inarticulate men, women, and children whose endless quest for the marginal, low-paid jobs spells the difference between success and failure in literally thousands of productive enterprises. Not since Carleton Parker disclosed the peonage in the hop fields of California has there been a more real determination that some effective attack on this problem must be set in motion without delay.

The three studies under consideration reflect the widespread public interest now attaching to the problem. The first scrutinizes the situation in a very restricted area—the Yakima Valley in Washington—but is more intensive in method and probably more nearly accurate in results than either of the other

two. The study made by Mr. and Mrs. Cross attempts to assess the problem in California, where it has long existed in its greatest volume and in some of its most noxious forms. The W.P.A. investigation is much more extensive geographically than either of the other two. It includes data gathered in thirteen cities as widely scattered as Boston, Dallas, and Seattle. Owing to the restricted character of the sample, many of the findings are exceedingly tentative, as the author himself takes great care to point out.

Although the segment of the problem subjected to analysis was quite different in each instance, the findings are strikingly similar, as the following quotations indicate:

The migratory-casual worker . . . is . . . an underemployed and poorly paid worker who easily and frequently becomes a charge on society. Directly or indirectly, State and local governments are forced to accept some responsibility for individuals in this group. Hospitalization, emergency relief, border patrols, and the policing of jungles and scenes of labor disputes are examples of costs that are borne directly by the public. There is another cost which cannot be assessed in dollars: the existence of a group whose low earnings necessitate a standard of living far below the level of decency and comfort. The presence of such a group in any community, even though for a short time each year, cannot fail to affect adversely the wage level of resident workers who are engaged in the same or similar pursuits [Webb, pp. xviii-xix].

Housing and sanitary conditions in the Yakima Valley are far below a desirable minimum standard [p. 66]. . . . The median cash income [annual] in round numbers for transient heads of families is \$300 [pp. 69-70]. . . . About 20 per cent of the single transients and about 43 per cent of the transient families stated that they had received relief during the year preceding the interview. The absence of unemployment insurance provision and of any general social security protection for farm workers means that they will continue to provide a problem for the relief agencies since relief, or dependence on relatives and friends, is their only means of security, if such it can be called [p. 70]. [Landis and Brooks.]

Health conditions resulting from neglect of disease and of injuries were found to be deplorable. These included bad teeth, infections of all kinds—venereal disease, in particular—malnutrition, and infirmities that accompany advancing age. Physical unfitness and deterioration were scarcely second in importance to confusion of mind, and in some instances definite mental deficiency, which underlay the low morale observed at relief centers and in the "jungles" [p. 36]. . . . On the one hand were the shuttling packs of hungry men; on the other were the more stabilized tramp settlements in the outskirts of communities of all sizes. . . . In some places the "jungles" served their purpose for only a few nights, since they were subject to destruction through police raids. Often they were flimsy creations of tar paper, galvanized iron, and Standard Oil cans [p. 37]. [Cross and Cross.]

In the Yakima investigation, schedules were filled out each week for an entire year (August, 1935—July, 1936). In the second week of December only 500 laborers were required in the Valley; in the second week in September 33,000 workers were needed. Thus sixty-six times as much hired labor is employed during the peak season as in the low points of the winter. Hop-picking is responsible for the most virulent aspects of the fluctuation. More than 98

per cent of the harvest occurs within the span of three weeks in September. Wages average \$1.25 per day as contrasted with \$2.51 per day in the apple orchards. The difference is largely explained by the large numbers of children employed in the hop fields.

The Yakima study was at pains to distinguish carefully between resident labor and transient labor. Approximately three thousand resident laborers are dependent upon agricultural employment for their livelihood. Thus, although 25,000 transients are needed in September, there are six months in the year when the available jobs will not even absorb the resident labor supply. Thus the Yakima study shows clearly that plans for mitigating the lot of the transient laborer must be developed in consonance with plans for the local laborer if there is to be any effective brake upon the evils of transiency. In fact, bad as his condition is, the transient laborer is even now better off than the resident laborer in the Yakima Valley. The median period during which some member of the transient household had employment was 7.9 months, whereas the median in the resident group was 5.6 months. Moreover, the median annual cash income in the transient households was \$297 as compared with \$198 in the resident households. The Yakima study makes frequent reference to the earlier investigation of Dr. Marion Hathway, *The Migratory Worker and Family Life*, the major conclusions of which it confirms and supplements.

The W.P.A. report is exceedingly well written. Moreover, the author exercises admirable caution in drawing conclusions and in pointing out to the reader the limitations of the data. It is, therefore, especially unfortunate that he indulges occasionally in some of the familiar *a priori* generalizations that have characterized most of the journalistic sallies into this field. The following quotations illustrate this defect:

The experienced migrant knew where and when he was most likely to find a job . . . and he continued to migrate to those places even though he knew the pay would be less than in previous years. This knowledge, plus a strong personal antipathy to being found in "soup lines," helps to explain why the confirmed migratory-casual worker kept out of transient bureaus . . . [p. xi]. These desires [for new scenes] . . . are the core of his existence and the governor of his activity [p. 20]. . . . The migratory-casual worker is an individualist and is inclined to be impatient of the slow process of organization and negotiation that has characterized successful union policy in this country [p. 16].

The study is one of a series now being made by various agencies of the federal government to assist in fulfilling the provisions of Senate Resolution 298, 74th Congress, 2d Session, which directs the Secretary of Labor "to study, survey, and investigate the social and economic needs of laborers migrating across State lines." The states which emerge as principal centers of employment for the migratory-casual group are California, Washington, Texas, Minnesota, Arkansas, and Missouri. Since the entire study is based upon the records of only five hundred workers, it is possible that an increase in the size of the sample might effect some changes in this list, as in most of the other findings.

The average duration of jobs among these five hundred workers was about two months. The term "job" was defined as "a continuous employment in one district at one pursuit, regardless of the number of employers involved and regardless of time lost on the job because of holidays and lay-offs." The difficulties inherent in getting data on number of jobs held are notorious and undoubtedly explain the choice of this definition. Readers will want to bear in mind, however, that because of the use of this definition, the resulting figures fall far short of reflecting the total discontinuity and insecurity of employment within the migrant group.

The conclusions reached in the W.P.A. study are not encouraging. Two possible means of improving the situation are mentioned: (1) unionization of the workers, (2) "some degree of employment-office control involving a high degree of co-operation among offices, employers, and workers; and, during depression periods, the diversion of the surplus to public works."

The latter of these conclusions seems seasoned to suit the taste of Harry Hopkins, whose enthusiasm for the works program as the basic line of defense for any and all types of economic insecurity appears not to have been dampened by the growing hostility toward it in Congress.

"Aside from the means summarized above," concludes the author, "there does not . . . appear to be any other possibility of full or partial solution . . . short of those eventual and unhurried changes in population patterns that promise to eliminate the economic function of the migratory-casual worker."

It is striking, to say the least, that this defeatist point of view is not relieved by the slightest suggestion of the adoption of the one program that would quite obviously effect immediate improvement in the lot of one of the most disinherited groups in the nation—namely, federal reimbursement either of all or at least a part of the relief grants to nonresidents. This is the immediate step urged in nearly all the competent studies recently published in this field, among them the excellent monograph of the Wardwell Commission in New York State. This is the real line of last defense—not a works program that cannot even absorb the local unemployed. In fact, it becomes clearer every day that the works program itself can be made effective only by transforming it from the basic program to a supplemental program. And there is not the least doubt in the minds of most competent observers that until federal funds are made available for direct relief, migrant laborers and their children will continue to be deprived of even the slightest vestige of security.

W. McM.

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*Child Workers in America.* By KATHARINE DUFORE LUMPKIN and DOROTHY WOLFF DOUGLAS. New York: Robert M. McBride & Co., 1937. Pp. xii+321. \$3.50.

The authors of *Child Workers in America* have performed a valuable service in setting forth in a volume that to an unusual degree combines readability and

soundness the facts about child labor in the United States. The book is in no sense, however, merely a popular restatement of material contained in earlier reports and compilations. The authors impart warmth and vitality to the oft-told tale. Moreover, they make effective use of the facts in support of their argument that poverty and want are the real causes of child labor. And they propose a program for its control.

The first section of the book, dealing with the extent and kinds of child labor, draws chiefly upon the findings of surveys of more or less recent years, and contains little that is new. Facts and figures from many different published and unpublished sources are intelligently selected, however, and so skilfully handled as to form an absorbing story. The picture is made graphic by the introduction of case stories, some of which, as the authors state, are drawn directly from life—apparently either from the authors' own recent study of several hundred child workers or from other investigations—while some are composite pictures, the authenticity of which is evident to anyone familiar with the findings of child labor investigations of recent years.

Perhaps the most important contribution made in this initial process of informing the general public as to the basic facts of child labor is the conclusive way in which proof is presented that child labor is not a thing of the past and that it is not confined to the employment of children in industry. Indeed, industrial child labor is called by the authors "child labor at its best" (though shown to be a sorry best), because it is the field in which children have received the greatest amount of protection through legislation. It is the child laborer on the farm whom the authors designate "the forgotten child" because next to nothing has been done to alleviate his hard lot. Nor is this forgotten child only the child worker in commercialized agriculture. Even more important because more numerous and more neglected by public opinion are the children who work on the "home" farm, the "unpaid family labor" of the Census returns.

In their treatment of this problem of children in agriculture no less than child labor in the factory, mine, and sweatshop, the argument is pressed that economic causes are the basic factors in the demand for a supply of child labor. Child labor exists by reason of its cheapness.

The matter boils down to this: When businesses consider the labor of children to be not only cheap but sufficiently productive to be profitable, children are hired. Where there is no demand, there will be no children at work. . . . If working-class parents were able to provide comfortably and securely for their families from the earnings of adult members we should soon find a dearth of children seeking work [pp. 190-91].

Part III deals with the prospects for control. Especially useful also are the chapters that analyze the opposition to child labor regulation and record the arguments advanced by opponents through the years and in today's struggle over the ratification of the federal Child Labor Amendment. A very valuable service has been done by the authors in this section in bringing together this material from numerous published and unpublished sources, in answering the arguments of the opposition where they are not so untrue or so ridiculous as to

need no answer, and in attempting to explain the causes of the opposition, its origin in the groups of organized business, and why it finds sympathizers in the so-called privileged class outside the members of that class who have a direct interest, as child employers, in opposing the raising of child labor standards. In this section also is presented a similar historical account and analysis of the forces that have taken the lead in child labor reform.

In setting forth the ways in which the problem of child labor may be met, the authors have made a more meager contribution. The least satisfactory section of the book, especially as a guide to the general reader, is the brief final chapter of less than twelve pages, which presents the authors' program for the control of child labor. It is not that they do not present a program. They do present one, which would, if carried out, insure a far better and more productive childhood for the children of America, since it provides (1) that child labor of children under sixteen should be prohibited in all parts of the country in all occupations including agriculture, street trades, and industrial homework; (2) that adequate schooling be provided for all children; and (3) that family need, which sends children to work, be met by such means as scholarships from public funds, adequate social insurance on a national scale, and other "social-economic controls" of poverty and insecurity.

The authors tell us that this job can be done, that "it is entirely possible, even under the business system, for child labor in large measure to be got rid of." They believe the first step to be ratification of the federal Child Labor Amendment, followed by effective child labor legislation. In so far as abolition depends upon prohibition and regulation, as in large measure it must, pending complete reform of the tenant sharecropper system, for example, it must depend on effective administrative measures. In such a work as this it may be conceded that "there is no need to detail a program of legislative measures" with their necessary administrative provisions. But it seems unfair to the reader to minimize so completely the difficulties involved, especially in the case of children in agriculture, as to imply they do not exist. The general reader is, in the opinion of this reviewer, entitled to find in a book that gives as comprehensively and competently most aspects of the child labor problem as this one does, more recognition of the problems of administration.

ELLEN NATHALIE MATTHEWS

WELFARE COUNCIL OF NEW YORK CITY

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*Getting and Earning: A Study of Inequality.* By RAYMOND T. BYE and RALPH H. BLODGETT. New York: F. S. Crofts & Co., 1937. Pp. vii+274. \$2.25.

*A Declaration of Interdependence.* By H. A. OVERSTREET. New York: W. W. Norton & Co., Inc., 1937. Pp. xii+284. \$3.00.

The authors of these books, aware of the acute phase of our economic and social problems, have attempted to draft programs for their solution and to present their ideas in popular phraseology. Our interest in their efforts lies not

in the novelty of the solutions offered but in the extent to which two professional economists and a social philosopher indicate a receptivity toward programs of a radical flavor.

The authors of *Getting and Earning*, members of the department of economics of the University of Pennsylvania, are more conservative than Professor Overstreet. While they seek an equitable division of the social income, they are not concerned with the fundamental working of our present economic system, which they believe to be generally satisfactory. They accept the basic factors of private capitalism, private initiative, the wage system, interest, and profits but they want to correct the abuses that they believe have developed in an otherwise satisfactory system. They are primarily concerned with the fact that a large part of many incomes are not earned but represent rewards to the recipients, growing out of skilful manipulations or special privileges. They believe that it is possible to formulate a better concept of earnings and to develop a program based upon this concept which would make an unearned income impossible or difficult.

Since the authors believe that the capitalist system of society is the best of all possible economic systems, they would retain the principle of interest, the differentials in wage and salary payments, rent (except for inflated land valuation), and profits if these can be based upon "real" economic values. They believe with Henry George in the taxation of the unearned increment of rent and would introduce this kind of taxation gradually and systematically. They favor a plan whereby "the state will eventually appropriate all the economic rent if this can be done without too much injury to the present owners." They believe that some of the differentials in wages and salaries, particularly in the higher brackets where salaries and bonuses represent special privileges more frequently than actual productive value, should be controlled by extending the principle of progressive and graduate income taxation. The analysis of profits is rather hazy. They do not apply the theory of unearned increment in land to business enterprise since they accept the validity of private ownership of capital and the equity of suitable rewards for its use or manipulation in constructive private enterprise. They explain that the basis of some of our larger fortunes, e.g., those of the Rockefellers, Mellons, Morgans, Weyerhausers, and Astors, were not legitimate economic returns from interest on capital or payments for the services of management but were due to special privileges, the taking of speculative risks, war profits, and gains from shrewd manipulations. They suggest that business should be subject to such controls as to reduce to the minimum the possibility of obtaining profits which are unearned and that the large profits which nevertheless occur should be returned to the state through corporation and excess profits taxes. They are also opposed to the principle of inheritance except for minimums necessary to provide proper support of the dependents of the wealthy person and are therefore in favor of steeply graduated inheritance and gift taxes. Where the measures proposed do not succeed in eliminating monopolies, they advocate the public ownership and operation of such monopolies.

The authors believe that the reduction of these sources of income in the larger brackets will necessarily be beneficial to the lower-paid earners and to consumers in general. They do not, however, favor the regulation of wages. They believe in collective bargaining as a means for obtaining just returns for labor. If the measures advocated do not succeed in obtaining a fair standard of living for everyone, the authors would be ready to use the social surplus obtained from taxation for social welfare purposes, such as for more and better schools, hospitals, parks, playgrounds, highways, medical and scientific research, slum clearance, cheap electric power, low-cost housing, and other improvements that would better the standard of living of the masses.

The possibility that the measures advocated might drastically affect the system of private ownership and therefore the essential nature of capitalism that the authors want to preserve is not raised. Neither does the book attempt to discuss the basic political questions which are involved in obtaining these reforms. They believe that social legislation is determined by the more intelligent classes and that "all that is needed is a willingness on the part of the more intelligent classes to support the necessary policies. . . . When they recognize their social responsibility, a suitable program can and will be developed."

*A Declaration of Interdependence*, more discursive in form and content, goes further into an analysis of the measures required to bring about social reforms. Professor Overstreet, head of the department of philosophy and psychology of the College of the City of New York, devotes a considerable part of the book to explaining the effects of the industrial revolution and the rise of modern industry. These changes have affected our economic and political structures and have prevented us from achieving a real democracy. A considerable time is spent on a discussion of the possibilities for education. He characterizes as "mental defeatism" the belief that political and economic institutions must first be changed before we can have improvement in intelligence and in culture.

Professor Overstreet, in addition to supporting somewhat the same measures of taxation suggested by Professors Bye and Blodgett, advances a program for public control of credit, government ownership or comprehensive control of public utilities, including electric power, oil, transportation, etc. He is also an ardent advocate of consumers' co-operatives and is vigorously opposed to the wars fomented by economic and imperialist interests. Professor Overstreet would reform the clumsy structure of local, state, and federal machinery. He is particularly critical of the Senate, the practice of adding riders to federal bills, and the use of political patronage.

Professor Overstreet is not so positive as Professors Bye and Blodgett about the retention of the capitalist system. He is more aware of the powers and controls of our business oligarchy, the discouragingly reactionary attitudes of chambers of commerce, and the unwillingness of the propertied classes to share with the masses of the people the products of our technical civilization. He says:

We see the same old effort of the propertied classes to prevent the spread of good fortune to the masses of the people. In our own country, these classes turn their faces

like flint against any suggestion that the goods of life may now be more widely distributed and the old insecurities of poverty be banished. They are at their traditional tricks of preventing the removal of children from mines and factories; they oppose social legislation that would soften the impact of unemployment and lessen the terror of old age. They still regard the worker as their legitimate prey and maneuver in all kinds of ways, overt as well as hidden, to keep him in subjection.

Overstreet is looking for an American solution. The title, *A Declaration of Interdependence*, and his final chapter on Thomas Jefferson and Karl Marx are intended to support his thesis that the American solution should consist of elements borrowed from each of these representative philosophies. The meaning of the title being that the solution of our problems should consist of a blend of free individualism and collectivist organization. Professor Overstreet is not very clear in his analysis of the special aspects of Jeffersonian philosophy but he knows that he does not want either fascism or communism and that the *status quo* needs alteration. He would therefore use the organized power of labor and the co-operation of consumers to effect the reforms that he desires.

In his Foreword Professor Overstreet states that he is attempting "to write a social philosophy from a present-day American point of view." *A Declaration of Interdependence* is hopeful, patient, and well-intentioned, reflecting the opinions that have become associated with the reforms of the New Deal. It is characterized by an optimism not yet shattered by the crisis of a reaction, by a patience toward present abuses arising from an acceptance of many current values and old traditions, and by a belief that the American people already have in their own hands the levers and controls to reshape their economic life on a liberal pattern.

H. L. LURIE

COUNCIL OF JEWISH FEDERATIONS AND WELFARE FUNDS, INC.  
NEW YORK CITY

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*Public Administration.* By HARVEY WALKER. New York: Farrar & Rinehart, 1937. Pp. vii+698. \$3.00.

The unsatisfactoriness of the division of governmental functions into politics and administration is amply illustrated by this new textbook of Professor Harvey Walker. His first chapter, which enunciates this division and emphasizes the "functional" approach, contains most of the arguments needed to upset it. Professor Walker is well aware of them. He states the objections that legislators confirm executive appointments, that administrative officers participate in formulating laws and issue quasi-legislative rules and regulations, and, most important, that the manner in which the law is applied actually determines or makes the policy. The reason why the dichotomy of politics and administration is scarcely of greater help than the old tripartite division is that the new classification still confuses persons and functions, as did the old. The old division was seen to be at fault because the same individuals possessed powers in more than one of the supposedly separate branches. In theory there

might be a separation between the functions of legislating, executing, and judging, but in practice more than one function was often reposed in the same hands. So with the new division—despite its attempt to stress functions rather than agencies. Executives and legislators have functions both of politics and of administration. Hence any theoretical division based on functions becomes merely academic. It scarcely serves as the basis for a realistic analysis.

Indeed, this book exhibits clearly the a priori character of the division, for some of its best sections deal with administration and politics in their relation and interconnection, not in a hypothetical isolation from each other. Professor Walker writes admirably in chapter iii, where he discusses the political influences affecting state reorganization. He shows how strong governors desire to extend their power over independent agencies, how special interests want their particular bureau to be left alone, how party leaders want to centralize patronage; in a word, how political considerations so permeate administrative structure and administrative action that to divide them for classification gives an oversimplified and inaccurate picture.

In chapter iii the writer has two criticisms and one speculation of interest. He justly says that, in strengthening the power of the executive over the administration, insufficient attention has been paid to a corresponding strengthening of control by the people and the legislature over the executive; also, that many of the boasts which have been made about the success of reorganization should be ascribed more fairly to concomitant reforms, the executive budget, centralized purchasing, etc., rather than to the mere reshuffling of bureaus. His speculation is a proposal of a state-manager plan, parallel to that of the city-managers. One wonders, however, whether his requirement that the legislature should then meet "monthly or quarterly" so as to exercise continuous supervision, is feasible. City councils can meet frequently. Is there enough work to keep state legislators in frequent session?

As to the plan on which the book is arranged, Professor Walker makes an advance over previous books in the field. Professors White, Willoughby, and Pfiffner gave their attention almost entirely to the function of over-all executive supervision, the headship of departments and staff activities. Mr. Walker adopts the distinction between staff and line activity as a plan of organization. One section is devoted to the staff functions, and another to the line. Among the latter is a chapter on "Public Welfare," which will give social workers an account of the public agencies—federal, state, and local—in this field. This idea of including the line activities is good, but it has not been well developed. The section on line activities is the dullest part of the book. The author deals with each major activity in turn (e.g., education, agriculture, public welfare) giving in sequence the agencies on each of the three levels of government. He does not discuss some questions of importance to students of public administration. Are there certain features of organization common to all departments of public welfare and not to other departments? Are there other features common to all departments of education and not to other departments? What similarities are

there among all departments of all types and what differences between departments of different types? This comparative analysis of internal structure he does not attempt.

He has given us a book that provides most of the groundwork needed for students of public administration. It would serve, as he says, "as a text for a course in administration on the senior college level." By its inclusion of the line activities it suggests the possibility of an advance, and it is to be hoped that he will himself develop the new ideas to which he points the way.

LESLIE LIPSON

UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO

*Public Medical Services.* By MICHAEL M. DAVIS. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1937. Pp. 170. \$1.50.

The author does not attempt to deal with future programs. His first eight chapters present facts, perspicuously selected from such familiar documents as Regulations No. 7 and the reports of the Committee on the Costs of Medical Care, outlining the extent and characteristics of public medical services at the present time. His last three chapters discuss, as he says, "some immediate problems of organization and administration." The problems selected for discussion are of evident importance and they are discussed, as it seems to me, with wisdom and constraint. One important subject is not discussed; that is the professional training of personnel to man these services. Perhaps there are others. But the author does not claim to have covered the subject. What he has written is informative, reliable, and stimulating.

Assuming that the health of the people is at least one responsibility of the government, then the government should be required to estimate the need for medical care, the degree to which that need is being met, the necessity for financial support from tax revenue, as well as to supervise the administration of the services in the public interest. Local governments throughout the nation have given very varied recognition to these responsibilities, and the kind of comparisons drawn in this book are valuable not only in themselves but as pointing the way to further comparative studies. It may be that in time Congress will recognize the need of establishing national standards to which the care of the needy sick in backward states and communities must somehow be raised. In this connection the report of the American Foundation,<sup>1</sup> published since the Davis book was written, provides valuable collateral reading.

Six pages of references increase the value of Dr. Davis' book. The Index is, however, little more than a table of contents arranged in alphabetical order. As an index it is negligible.

J. ROSSLYN EARP

SANTA FE, NEW MEXICO

<sup>1</sup> *American Medicine: Expert Testimony Out of Court.* By leading doctors and surgeons, including men from every state. New York: American Foundation, 1937. 2 vols. Pp. 1,500. \$3.50.

*Dorothea Dix, Forgotten Samaritan.* By HELEN E. MARSHALL. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1937. Pp. xi+298. \$3.50.

A faded letter recently examined by the reviewer in Chicago was written by Francis Tiffany, the early biographer of Dorothea Dix, to Sir Edwin Chadwick, the English public health reformer. Writing in confidential fashion of the great difficulty in avoiding "dreary dulness" in writing of the life of a philanthropist, Tiffany drew a comparison between describing the activities of a prize fighter where the "elemental sympathies" of the reader were ever present, and attempts of Miss Dix at "knocking out the apathy and callousness of state legislatures," where there was the necessity of arousing such sympathies. Mr. Tiffany has unconsciously perhaps put his finger on the ever present danger in writing biographies of great reformers—that of separating them entirely as human beings from the world of commonplace affairs. No biographer of Miss Dix has entirely succeeded in interpreting her personality, but Miss Marshall has avoided "dreary dulness" by surpassing all previous attempts to place the life of Miss Dix in relation to her own time and environment and making of her not a lifeless heroine but an active woman seeing vividly conditions that surrounded her. If the reader still feels less acquainted with Miss Dix than with Elizabeth Fry after reading Janet Whitney's recent biography of that great English reformer, he might almost consider this due to the differences in personality and surroundings of the two women rather than to the biographer. Mrs. Fry's childhood was one of fun and gaiety in the midst of a large family, her later life that of a happy wife and mother surrounded by friends and relatives, her prison work, one might say, almost incidental, or at least crowded into a life of many activities. To Miss Dix, on the other hand, unhappy in childhood, solitary and repressed, thrusting aside illness, the care of the insane became an all-absorbing interest under which personal life was buried by what she called her "compassion." One would like, however, to know more of Miss Dix's own reactions and to see more of her personal life as expressed in letters, perhaps not available.

Miss Marshall has depicted well the conditions of the insane both as Miss Dix found them neglected in her visits to local almshouses and as she left them in state institutions, which were attempting to apply the then existing knowledge of the best methods of treatment of the group. Sufficient excerpts are given from the carefully prepared memorials presented to state legislatures to show the skilful manner in which Miss Dix appealed alike to sympathy and reason in her efforts to move the legislators to action, and credit is given her for direct service in the establishment of thirty-two state hospitals. Her intrepid zeal is perhaps most apparent in the history of her achievements as an "American Invader" in influencing the treatment of the insane in the British Isles.

Less well known are Miss Dix's activities in the field of prison reform, and Miss Marshall has briefly discussed her contribution to the controversy taking place between the exponents of two methods of penal administration—the solitary and the congregate systems.

Here is shown the incidental or even accidental manner in which Miss Dix embarked upon her several lines of activities from her introduction to the world-wide reform in care of the insane by way of a Sunday-school class in the Boston House of Correction to her influence in establishing lifesaving apparatus on Sable Island, resulting from observation of its lack while on a visit there.

Here, too, move that Boston group of great influence in making Massachusetts a pioneer in social reform, including William Ellery Channing, Samuel Gridley Howe, and Horace Mann—all close friends and co-workers of Miss Dix.

Miss Dix's services as superintendent of nurses during the Civil War and her own disappointment in the success of her relationships are well interpreted. While the student of social welfare may find little new material in this book, he will find a readable and sympathetic contribution to the literature of social history and one that should aid in preventing a great "Samaritan" from being "forgotten" by the general public.

MARGARET CREECH

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*Talcott Williams: Gentleman of the Fourth Estate.* By ELIZABETH DUNBAR. New York: G. E. Stechert & Co., 1936. Pp. 400. \$3.50.

Talcott Williams was born in July, 1849, at Beirut. His father was a Presbyterian missionary who went to Syria shortly after his marriage in 1848 and spent the rest of his life there. About one-fourth of the book is devoted to genealogy and to a very interesting picture of the life of a missionary in Syria and of the habits and customs of its inhabitants. Although Talcott came to the United States when he was fifteen years old, his experiences in Syria had made a deep impression on him and formed an unforgettable background for his life. Few men in this country were as well informed as he as to the history of that part of the world and as to present conditions there.

Williams spent three years at Phillips Academy, not distinguishing himself in class work but showing ability as a debater and a leader. He was even then a great reader. From there he went to Amherst at the age of twenty, earning part of his expenses as hostler to Professor Sellye and by selling books. Here again his class standing was not high, but he held his own in writing for the college papers and in speaking and in undergraduate activities. He was the class prophet and one of fourteen graduates chosen to speak at his final commencement. He always kept a close connection with his college, and became one of its trustees.

For Williams, newspaper work was his passion; it was "the great calling above all else." He expressed his ideal of the journalist through the following words of the prophet Ezekiel:

So thou, O son of Man, I have set thee a watchman unto the house of Israel; therefore thou shalt hear the word at my mouth and warn them from me. When I say unto the wicked, O wicked man, thou shalt surely die; if thou dost not speak to warn the wicked man from his way, that wicked man shall die in his iniquity; but his blood will I

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require at thine hand. Nevertheless, if thou warn the wicked of his way to turn from it, if he do not turn from his way, he shall die in his iniquity; but thou hast delivered thy soul.

Soon after leaving college he consulted Samuel Bowles as to finding a job and became a reporter on the *New York World*. There he promptly made a place for himself by a brilliant obituary of the prize-fighter Heenan. He loved night work. He moved along rapidly to the editorial staffs of the *New York Sun*, the *Springfield Republican*, and the *Philadelphia Press*. He continued with the *Press* from 1881 until 1912, when he became the first director of the school of journalism at Columbia, which had been endowed by Joseph Pulitzer.

In 1879 he married Sophia Wells Royce, of Utica, New York. They had no children.

The rest of the book is a chronicle of his association with a great variety of people and of many meetings, lectures, speeches, and other forms of activity. He died in January, 1928.

The biography gives the impression of a prodigious worker who had an encyclopedic mind and a wide diversity of interests. He dug deep when he needed information, and his memory held what he learned and gave it out when called on. He had literary power but failed to gain distinction as an author because he liked better to follow his impulse to share in and contribute to the everyday life of his fellows.

He was a champion of Negroes and ready to render them service, small or great, as occasion offered. In his later years he was president of the Jeanes Fund for the encouragement of rural schools for Negroes in the South.

Among his friends he counted Mary Richmond and Prentice Murphy and other social workers, especially those in Philadelphia, and he sought their advice concerning social problems. He was, however, a vigorous opponent of woman suffrage.

The book gives an interesting picture of its hero, but the picture would have portrayed his finer qualities and characteristics more impressively if his and his correspondents' letters had been more freely quoted and less space given to his forebears and to brief recording of his promiscuous contacts. One wishes that it had been more autobiographical. A serious flaw in a book containing so many items is the lack of an index.

JOHN M. GLENN

RUSSELL SAGE FOUNDATION  
NEW YORK CITY

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*The Position of Women in the U.S.S.R.* By G. N. SEREBRENNIKOV.  
London: Victor Gollancz, Ltd., 1937. Pp. 288. 7s. 6d.

After a brief Introduction referring to the subordinate and humiliating position occupied by women in earlier times and, at the present time, in countries other than Russia, the author undertakes to "throw light on the great

cultural and social development of the Soviet woman and show concretely how the principle of full equality for women—their real liberation and emancipation is being carried out in the U.S.S.R." (p. 8). To accomplish this purpose, the author first reviews the legislation with reference to marriage and divorce, the laws making the care and support of children the equal responsibility of the parents and laying on the father definite responsibilities for his child whether the child is born within or without the registered marriage. The political and economic equality of the sexes are likewise aims of the republic. To secure this, the number of occupations open to women under conditions thought safe for them has been greatly increased, while provision in the way of maternity leave with pay, insurance, and various forms of security are increasingly developed. With increased security—physical, domestic, and economic—the attitude of the state to abortion has changed, and while this method of birth control so disastrously used in the United States of America (in 1933 one-fourth of the mothers who died in childbirth died as the result of attempting to end an unwelcome pregnancy in this way)<sup>1</sup> was allowed during the early years after the revolution, recently it has been prohibited in Russia after extended public discussion.

The author reviews the general results of women's work, especially since 1921, when the widening mechanization of industry has made possible the employment of great numbers of women in industry, including the mechanized heavy industry, with a corresponding decline in the proportion employed in daily work or domestic service. The account of the increased participation of women in the "collectivized" farming (pp. 45-46) is extremely interesting.

Among the other interesting aspects of the presentation are the discussions of uses of women's labor power in occupations from which they have in the past been generally excluded, such as the so-called "heavy industries." Of course, the war made it clear that for these industries, by and large, women were as well qualified as men if the machines were adapted to their size and strength. So with occupations of a professional and technical character. It has been the spiritual and competitive attitude of men workers rather than limitation of capacity that has excluded women from engineering and other technical careers, and the recognition of these realities makes interesting reading. In Czarist Russia there were opportunities, but education was costly. There were women practicing medicine and dentistry, but they were few and are said to have been poorly paid. By the end of 1926, it is claimed, there were 16,000 women in administrative posts, 7,000 holding technical positions, 700 agronomists, and 700 lawyers. The number of women in the universities and industrial colleges increased rapidly. The author reports that on July 1, 1935, there were already 66,100 women employed on the technical-engineering side of the heavy industries.

Extremely interesting illustrative biographies are cited. Women are contributing to the number of inventions, they have found a place on the bench of

<sup>1</sup> U.S. Children's Bureau Publication No. 223, p. 103.

magistrates, in the office of the public prosecutor, and in the laboratories where research is being carried on. Needless to say, they have their place in the soviets and in positions of prestige and public responsibility. The theory back of it all is that women are both human and women. As human, they are given the chance to use their powers in general activity. As women, they are protected by the public interest in the exercise of their maternal functions. Russia does not forget that the problem of infant health and well-being which is dependent on maternal health and well-being is a matter of national concern so that there are being organized in Russia a "wide-spread net of Communal services" facilitating the performance of maternal and domestic duties. "Tiresome domestic work" is regarded as a bondage from which women are to be emancipated, not a state of sanctified drudgery in which she must permanently immerse herself.

There are crèches, which in 1936 were taking care of five and one-half million little children; there are consultation clinics; and beside taking part in industrial and domestic activities, women are participating in the cultural activities that are rapidly developing. They read the papers, they share in neighborhood life, they are active in defense organizations; they are pilots, a number have gone in for parachute jumping, for gliding, sharp shooting, and for other activities hitherto monopolized by men. These women are, the author points out, generally not mothers of little children.

The book has several appendixes, giving extracts from the Code of Labor Laws and certain other official orders, and a good Index.

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#### BRIEF NOTICES

*A Foreigner Looks at the TVA.* By ODETTE KEUN. New York: Longmans, Green & Co., 1937. Pp. vi+89. \$1.25.

When she arrived in America, Odette Keun was warned by her friends that the T.V.A. was an invention of the devil. Fortunately, however, she persisted in her desire to visit the scene of its activity, and after several months' study set down her conclusions.

"Handicapped and restricted though it is in all sorts of ways," she writes, "it is the noblest, the most intelligent, and the best attempt made in this country or in any other democratic country, to economize, marshal and integrate the actual assets of a region, plan its development and future, ameliorate its standards of living, establish it in a more enduring security, and render available to the people the benefits of the wealth of their district, and the results of science, discovery, invention, and disinterested forethought."

In outlining the examination upon which she bases her opinion, Mme Keun has done an excellent job of reporting the multiplicity of activities that make up the T.V.A. program of land and water conservation. She has succeeded admirably in describing the relationship of those varied activities to the complex social and economic structure of the South and in giving the historic background of its contemporary scene. Americans

who are interested in this major undertaking of the government should be enormously grateful not only for her energetic spirit of inquiry and her keen perceptions but also for the generous spirit in which she appraises objectives and methods.

In the face of her enthusiastic approbation and the somewhat rapturous dedication of her book, "To America, with whom I have fallen in love," it seems querulous for an American to indicate a limitation upon the enjoyment of her work. There is no question, however, but that the militant sprightliness of Mme Keun's style will make the book, brief as it is, laborious reading to many who will be otherwise impressed with her performance. Perhaps it is due to her constant effort to present fairly technical material in popular language. She has successfully avoided pedantry, but persistent verbosity and the intrusion of long, parenthetical observations interrupt the sequence and at times are irritatingly close to whimsy.

The substance of the book is so good, however, that the reader is wholly rewarded, for in fewer than one hundred pages the author has presented the most complete picture of the T.V.A. and the problems of the Valley that is anywhere available.

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*Vocational Guidance throughout the World.* By FRANKLIN J. KELLER and MORRIS S. VITELES. New York: W. W. Norton & Co., 1937. Pp. xiii+575. \$4.00.

The growing importance of vocational guidance for young people is another symptom of the highly specialized nature of most occupations other than common labor. The requirements of industry emphasize the need for careful placement of all workers regardless of age; but it is particularly important in the case of young people who have not yet entered an occupation, and the natural desire of all men and women for congenial, remunerative employment reinforces the vocational guidance movement.

Keller and Viteles have performed a much needed service in bringing up to date the experience with vocational guidance that has been accumulated in some of the principal countries of the world. "Methods and accomplishments are described against a background of kaleidoscopic patterns of national aspirations, ambitions and attainments." Tests for general intelligence with reference to specific vocations are correlated with tests for specific aptitudes, and the validity of numerous tests is discussed. Comparison of directions that vocational guidance has taken in different countries indicates the close relationships of vocational adjustment and national culture patterns. What is good vocational guidance in one country would not be entirely satisfactory in another; if vocational guidance is not an aspect of nationalism, it certainly is an aspect of national culture that must be taken into account by the vocational adviser.

*Vocational Guidance* is especially useful to social workers because of the photographic illustrations of technique and the sample tests reproduced in the Appendix.

R. C. W.

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*Unemployment Assistance Guide: 1936-37 Edition.* By G. GRANT MCKENZIE. London: Labour Party, 1936. Pp. 55. 6d.

This is a convenient statement of the situation regarding unemployment assistance, the latest form of "categorical relief" on a national scale in Great Britain. The antecedents of the unemployment assistance scheme; the operation of the scheme prior to November 15, 1936; the Unemployment Assistance Board, local machinery; "Making the Regulations," with a detailed account of the eligibility for benefits under the

scheme; and allowances (procedure and conditions) are all dealt with briefly but competently. A good deal of attention is given to "relief scales" and to the "calculation of scale allowances."

The subject of the calculation of what may be called the "available resources" of the applicant and the members of his household is interesting. "The Act requires that the resources of all members of the applicant's household should be taken into account. All the resources of the household, however, are not regarded as available to be offset against the applicant's needs. The Act itself protects certain resources. . . . The amount taken into account is the net profit, salary or wages received, (a) less health insurance, contributory pensions, and unemployment insurance contributions, (b) less any other sums the deduction of which is authorised by statute (e.g., a statutory superannuation scheme, such as local government or teachers' superannuation), and (c) less a reasonable amount for expenses necessarily incurred in connection with employment" (p. 25).

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*Public Social Services: A Handbook of Information on Services for the Individual Citizen Provided by the State.* (N.C.S.S. No. 38.) 7th ed. London: National Council of Social Service, 1936. Pp. x+164. 2s.

This handbook, which was originally published as a pamphlet in 1917, has proved to be so indispensable to the social service group in England that it has been revised and enlarged continuously since its original publication. In the twenty years since it first appeared, twenty-seven thousand copies have been issued. The new edition begins with the important social services supported in Great Britain for the promotion of the public health, including maternity and child welfare services, welfare of the blind, care of the mentally deficient, as well as the more usual public health activities, such as sanitary inspection, care of infectious diseases, etc. There is a chapter on "National Health Insurance," another on "Great War Pensions and Allowances for Medical Services," a long chapter dealing with such related subjects as unemployment insurance, unemployment assistance, employment exchanges, workmen's compensation, factory inspection, and the regulation of child labor. There is also a rather long chapter on the "Surviving Poor Law Administration," and one on "Old Age Pensions." Finally, the general subject of education is dealt with, and the administration of justice, including the police courts, the question of imprisonment for the nonpayment of fines, adult probation, separation orders, adoption of children, juvenile courts, the social services connected with the courts of summary jurisdiction, the police force, as well as prisons, Borstal institutions, and retreats for inebriates. Altogether this is a very comprehensive little manual with a wide variety of useful information competently compressed.

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*The Prevention and Relief of Distress: A Yearbook of Information and Statistics Respecting the Statutory and Voluntary Means Available for the Relief of Distress and the Improvement of Social Conditions.* London: P. S. King & Son, and Charity Organization Society, 1936. Pp. v+255. 2s. 6d.

This valuable little handbook is really the thirty-fifth edition of Sir Charles Loch's famous annual statement about "How To Help Cases of Distress." It is now called a *Handbook of Social Case Work, Voluntary and Official*, and is published independently of the still useful *Annual Charities Register and Digest* published by the London Charity

Organization Society. But it must be pointed out that although it is described in the subtitle as a handbook of social case work, the English authors do not use the term "case work" as it is understood in America. The Preface more correctly describes its aim as an attempt to supply the social worker "with a working knowledge of the organizations, whether state, municipal or voluntary, which play a part in social case work." Some of the new special features of the thirty-fifth edition are an introduction to the chapter on the poor law, an account of the regulations of the Unemployment Assistance Board, and the London scheme for the homeless. There is also an account of last year's Old Age Pension Act and a new chapter on the "Slum Clearance Position of the Moment." Sections rewritten by request are those dealing with maternity, infant and child care, and the treatment of young delinquents. Any social workers interested in the British social services and in the supplementary private social work of Great Britain will find this handbook a very competent review of these services.

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*Free Medical Care: Socialized Medicine* ("Debater's Help Book," Vol. II).

Compiled and edited by E. C. BUEHLER. New York: Noble & Noble, 1935.  
Pp. viii+360. \$2.00.

This second volume in the "Debater's Help Book" series contains material on both sides of what is called "socialized medicine," this term apparently being used as synonymous with "free medical care." Social workers are, of course, greatly interested in this subject, "the timeliness and importance" of which are pointed out by the author of this handbook. Material in the handbook is selected to represent such different points of view as Dr. Fishbein's and the late Edgar Sydenstricker's. There is, of course, an extensive Bibliography.

## PUBLIC DOCUMENTS

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### PUBLIC HEALTH AND PUBLIC WELFARE IN ENGLAND

*Seventeenth Annual Report of the Ministry of Health, 1935-36.* (Cmd. 5287.) London: H. M. Stationery Office, 1936. Pp. vi+318. 5s.

*On the State of the Public Health: Annual Report of the Chief Medical Officer of the Ministry of Health, 1935.* London: H. M. Stationery Office, 1936. Pp. iv+238. 3s. 6d.

*The Health of the School Child: Annual Report of the Chief Medical Officer of the Board of Education, 1935.* London: H. M. Stationery Office, 1936. Pp. 159. 2s. 6d.

These important reports deal with the work of the central authorities in England responsible for the administration of the modern poor law and public health provisions. In England the so-called "Ministry of Health" serves as the national authority that administers the social welfare services. We have here, in the first of the reports listed above, not merely a report on the general public health and medical services but a report on public assistance; national health insurance; the "Widows', Orphans', and Old Age Contributory Insurance Scheme," as well as chapters on housing; town and country planning; "local finance"; and other aspects of local government.

The American social worker will almost certainly turn first to the section on public assistance. This includes what we would call "general home assistance," but what is still called in this report "out-relief" and "institutional relief." This, of course, is what remains of the old poor law organization, now under the Ministry of Health as a central authority and locally administered by the public assistance committees of the county and county borough councils.

Provision for those who in this country would be called "transients, local homeless, or single unattached men or women," is discussed here under the old title "vagrancy"; and apparently the "Vagrancy Committees" are still doing a great deal of work that is very far removed from what America would consider sound principles of modern social work.

The total expenditure for the last year reported for "Relief of the Poor" (pp. 270-71) was \$170,000,000 (approximately), a large sum that came almost entirely from local funds. The report shows progress in the demobilization of the old poorhouse or "workhouses" (now called "Poor Law Institutions") and the re-adaptation of many of these to modern specialized uses—homes for the aged, hospitals, and, occasionally, homes for children. Some public work in the way of foster-home placement is reported, but except for the fact that this is in England frequently work done by the public assistance authority and not by a

private agency subsidized out of public funds, there is little for America to learn here from English practice.

In the poor law sections there is no interest shown in trained personnel in this field, as the term would be understood in America. "Candidates for the posts of adjudicating and assessment officer require a detailed knowledge of poor law work and must, in addition, be capable of considering the applications referred to them in a temper at once judicial and sympathetic." This statement of qualifications for our professional field shows how the British Civil Service has failed to understand the important field of public welfare administration.

The special social services have provided for large numbers of persons by means of the noncontributory old age pensions, the contributory pensions for persons between the ages of sixty-five and seventy, the widows or orphans of insured wage-earners, and finally those provided for by unemployment insurance or unemployment assistance.

American interest in the unemployment assistance acts, administered by the Unemployment Assistance Board, which is connected with the Ministry of Labour, is, of course, very great. It is dealt with very briefly in this report (pp. 139-43), but adequate information as to its policies and services is found in the special report of the Unemployment Assistance Board.

The *Annual Report of the Chief Medical Officer of the Ministry of Health* is not only a competent presentation of the most important vital statistics for England and Wales most recently reported by the registrar-general but also includes a valuable discussion of the social problems in various borderline fields of public health and social work, such as maternity and child welfare; the health insurance medical service; tuberculosis, with some interesting after-histories of tuberculous patients, and a very valuable account of the progress of tuberculosis service and residential institutional service; venereal diseases; cancer, with an interesting account of the general progress in diagnosis, treatment, and prevention, with a statement about facilities for treatment, and co-operation of the Ministry of Health with the general practitioner. Finally, there is an important chapter on the "Relation of Food to Health and Disease," with a review of some important dietary studies. There is also a chapter here on "Surveys of Health Services," with attention given to such subjects as working hours of nurses and methods of appointment; and there is also a discussion of international health work, with special emphasis on the Health Committee of the League of Nations.

Since the retirement of Sir George Newman, who held the post of chief medical officer of the Ministry of Health from 1919 to 1935, one misses in the *Annual Report* the unusual combination of scientific scholarship with a rare gift of expression. But the new medical officer, Sir Arthur S. MacNalty, also understands the preparation of an interesting report, and this last *Report* is especially to be commended for its readable qualities.

The *Annual Report of the Chief Medical Officer of the Board of Education* is also interesting to social workers. There is a history of the nursery-school movement here, with an account of the organizations concerned with children under five,

and the effects of the nursery-school movement. There is a statement of the essential characteristics of the efficient nursery school, with the medical result of attendance at nursery schools and classes, together with an interesting account of the co-operation between the nursery school and the home, which is described under the general heading of "The Social Influence of the Nursery School Movement":

The obligation of the nursery school does not end with the hours the children spend there each day. What happens to the child at home is a matter of concern, since much of the advantage gained by attending the nursery school will be lost unless its principles can be carried over into the remainder of the child's life. The nursery school teacher cannot solve the problems in management and training presented by an individual child unless she understands his home background and has a sympathetic acquaintance with his parents. By visits to his home and formal and informal contact with his parents she not only can study the home factors underlying his behaviour but can also raise the standard of care and training in his home. The upbringing of a child can only be happy and successful if the mother and father co-operate with one another and agree on the methods to be used, and in this co-operation the tactful advice of a judicious superintendent is often of great value [pp. 86-87].

There is the usual valuable account in this *Report* of the provision of free meals and milk for school children. One wishes that this could be a part of the educational system, so that all children, and not merely "necessitous children of subnormal nutrition," might receive "free dinners and teas," milk, and other important supplementary food. America has a great deal to learn from the British system of providing certain important social services in connection with the school system. Certainly we have no provision on a national scale for the welfare of young children, school dental service, care of the mentally defective, as well as provision for nutrition and school feeding. We are slowly providing a national orthopedic service, but in general we have been far behind our English friends in the social services provided in the free schools; and this *Annual Report of the Chief Medical Officer of the Board of Education*, which is the national education authority, is always stimulating reading.

E. A.

#### THE BRITISH MINISTRY OF LABOR REPORT, 1936

*Ministry of Labour Report for the Year 1936.* (Cmd. 5431.) London: H. M. Stationery Office, 1937. Pp. vii+141. 2s. 6d.

The British Ministry of Labor is responsible for the administration of the labor exchanges, unemployment insurance, conciliation, the Trade Boards (Minimum Wage) Acts, the admission of foreign workers, the assembling of labor statistics, and international labor relations. The Unemployment Assistance Board is lodged with the Labor Ministry for budgetary purposes, and its payments are made by the Labor Exchanges; but the Minister has no administrative control of the Board, and it makes a separate annual report as does the Unemployment Insurance Statutory Committee, which has a similar position in

the Ministry of Labor. Factory inspection and co-operation with the courts in the administration of workmen's compensation has never been moved from the Home Office.

To students of labor conditions these annual reports are always of interest, but it is possible in a brief review to call attention only to certain points of special interest this year. Of these unemployment or employment is first. The *Report* begins with the statement (p. 1) that

three facts stand out from a study of the employment position during 1936. There was an exceptionally sharp rise in the numbers available for employment; large increases took place in the numbers in employment, which reached a record since comparable statistics have been kept; and a marked decrease occurred in the numbers unemployed.

In December, 1935, the estimated number of insured persons in employment was 10,629,000; in December, 1936, 11,132,000. But the number registered as unemployed was 1,869,000 in 1935 and in 1936, 1,629,000 (p. 1), which is only 1,274,000 less than the peak period of unemployment in January, 1933 (p. 5). The concentration of unemployment in Wales (29.4 per cent of insured persons in Wales were unemployed in 1936) is the greatest problem, and the Government Training Centers and Instructional Centers are maintained to prepare the unemployed in Wales and other "distressed areas" for employment. The so-called Instructional Centers" are in fact reconditioning centers similar to our C.C.C. camps, although the term of enrolment is for only three months and is not limited to young men. In general, these camps are not so good as the C.C.C. camps in the United States and they provide for very much smaller numbers. In 1936, 20,872 men were admitted to these camps, and the number entering employment from the centers was only 3,830 (p. 30), so that they may be said to have failed of their major objective.

On the other hand, the Government Training Centers, situated in various parts of the country, provide six months' courses in training in the building trades, cabinet-making, upholstery and french polishing, coach-body building, trimming and painting, the engineering trades, glass welding and blowing, hair dressing (barbers, especially), and hotel waiting and cooking. Men from the depressed areas who have had no experience but who are thought competent for skilled trades are carefully chosen for these training courses as well as some machinists who have been long unemployed and are thought to need "refresher" courses to restore their skill sufficiently to secure employment at regular wages. The teaching and general organization of these centers is excellent. As the number of trainees is determined by the opportunity for placing them in the trades for which training is given, it is not surprising to find that in 1936 of the 10,695 men who completed one of these courses of training, 10,398, or over 97 per cent, entered employment (p. 29). While many types of training have been given under W.P.A. to very much larger numbers, there has been no carefully planned training or retraining program for the unemployed in the United States, and the English experience should therefore be of general interest in the United States.

So far as industrial disputes are concerned, the *Report* shows a larger number in 1936 than in any year since 1920, but the working days lost were less than in 1935 (p. 67). Juvenile employment, to which one section of the *Report* is devoted, is referred to in "Notes and Comment" of this *Review*.

It is interesting to find eight of the pages in this *Report* devoted to a summary of the Twentieth Session of the International Labor Conference, the meetings of the governing body, and special conferences called by the International Labor Organization in 1936. The preparation by the Ministry for this work is careful and continuous.

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#### PUBLIC ASSISTANCE IN LONDON

*Public Assistance* (Annual Report of the London County Council, 1935, Vol. I, Part II). (L.C.C. No. 3240.) London, 1937. Pp. 90. 1s.

The London County Council's annual report on *Public Assistance* is always interesting to the social-work group in this country. In the "general survey of developments during the year," the new administrative scheme and the alterations in the administration of relief are given the place of importance. The reduction in the number of district subcommittees from about a hundred to twenty-five and the delegation of the duties relating to the grant of relief, formerly under the subcommittees, to twenty-five "adjudicating officers" and the same number of assistants was a radical change. The new type relieving officers are not social workers but are "men and women who had qualifications and experience enabling them to exercise proper discretion within the limits of their instructions." Readers of the *Review* may be interested in the duties of an adjudicating officer, as prescribed by the London County Council (Adjudicating and Assessment Officers) Order, 1935, which are as follows:

- a) To consider all application for relief reported to him by a relieving officer and relieving officers' reports thereon and, when necessary, to interview applicants for relief;
- b) To determine, in accordance with the statutory provisions and any rules, orders or regulations made by the Minister in that behalf, and, subject thereto, in accordance with regulations or rules to be prescribed by the Council for the purpose, the nature, and amount of relief [if any] to be given to applicants for relief;
- c) To make orders for the grant of relief accordingly;
- d) To reconsider periodically, in accordance with any rules, orders, or regulations made by the Minister in that behalf, and, subject thereto, in accordance with any regulations or rules prescribed by the Council in that behalf, the cases of persons receiving relief, and to make any necessary orders with regard thereto;
- e) To report to the appropriate subcommittee all orders for relief made to him;
- f) To refer for consideration by the appropriate subcommittee such applications for relief reported to him by relieving officers and such cases due for reconsideration by him as in his opinion should be dealt with by the subcommittee, and also any cases falling within such classes as the Council may from time to time direct;

- g) To refer to the appropriate subcommittee for review or consideration any case in which an applicant for relief or recipient of relief asks for reconsideration of the adjudicating officer's determination. . . .

Applicants for relief are made aware of their right to ask for reconsideration of decisions made by the "adjudicating officers" by means of notices displayed in prominent positions at all relief stations, and printed leaflets explaining the position are handed to persons who, on account of age or infirmity, are unable to get to the relief stations. The notice is in these terms:

When your application for relief has been dealt with by an adjudicating officer you may, if you wish, ask for the officer's decision to be reconsidered by the area committee.

A request for reconsideration must be made on a special form on which your reasons must be written. The form must be returned *within seven days* from the day when you were told of the officer's decision.

A form may be obtained from, and when completed is to be returned to, the local public assistance office or the relief office of your district . . . [pp. 5-6].

The ten local Public Assistance Committees had been reconstituted with a smaller membership before the publication of this report and are now called "Area Committees."

The districts of the present district subcommittees are considerably larger than those of the former ones [25 now cover the same total area as 98 used to do], and in most cases they now cover at least the whole of a metropolitan borough. In these circumstances it was felt advisable to repeal the standing order which laid down that the administration of outdoor relief in any ward in which a member of a district subcommittee resides should not be undertaken by such member or by the wife or husband of such member [pp. 7-8].

The present statutory requirements relating to the grant of relief are important. The Poor Law Act of 1930 provided that the public assistance authority should "provide such relief as may be necessary for . . . such . . . persons as are poor and not able to work." But there are "no provisions in the Act prescribing what amounts of relief shall be given and there is no definition of poverty." The Council therefore reports:

A "scale of relief" cannot be adopted in so far as the word "scale" implies a definite entitlement to certain benefits, because the word "relief" in the Act allows discretion in the assistance that may be necessary for the needs of poor people, however wide and varied the range of those needs may be. The poor law supplements the limited benefits provided by the special statutes and fills up the gaps left by such statutes in all those cases of persons or families where the prescribed benefits are not available or are insufficient to meet the actual needs. The term "destitute" as used to describe the need for relief does not necessarily mean that the person concerned is entirely devoid of the means of subsistence, but implies that he may be without sufficient available resources to satisfy his physical needs, including any form of medical treatment of which he is in urgent need. It is for these fundamental reasons that the Poor Law Acts have never defined poverty nor has the central authority ever prescribed scales of relief. It follows that the grants of relief must remain essentially discretionary in character, and that

any guide or standard use for administrative convenience cannot be interpreted to exclude the use of discretion [p. 9].

There is a very interesting section on the "breaking-up" of the old mixed workhouses:

As a first step in the reorganization and development of public assistance accommodation a detailed survey was made of existing institutions. . . . The survey revealed that the major portion of the existing accommodation was seriously overcrowded in the light of these standards and that some of the accommodation was unfit for further use [pp. 15-16].

An important section on the "Homeless Poor" contains an account of the work of the Consultative Committee, which has been meeting regularly to make new plans for this group. The most important measures proposed to improve the provision for the so-called casual and homeless poor persons were:

1. The compilation of a central register of all homeless destitute persons applying for assistance in London;
2. The setting-up of a central office, open for the greater part of the day and night, to which homeless destitute persons could apply. . . .

The new L.C.C. arrangements for dealing with the homeless have included keeping a central office open between the hours of 10:00 A.M. and 2:00 A.M., daily "to deal with applications for assistance by homeless destitute men or women." The office has become known as the "London County Council Welfare Office."

It is interesting that the report rarely uses the term "social work" except in the chapter dealing with the new "Almoner Service," or what we call "medical social work." An effort is made to define the term "almoner," and it is explained that

one of her primary functions in a voluntary hospital is to determine how far any patient is able to pay for his own treatment, and how far it is to be paid for him. In other words, she assesses the amount which he shall contribute to the funds of the hospital in return for services rendered.

However, it is also pointed out that in a municipal hospital her function in this respect is not quite the same. Recovery of the expenses of inpatients here is governed by statute, and rules have been drawn up under which assessment determines the amount to be paid according to the circumstances of the individual. The almoner's part is to discover these circumstances from the patient on his admission and communicate the results elsewhere for the assessment to be made.

Later, it is pointed out that "to lay too much emphasis on the almoner as a collector of money would be to give a distorted view of the position she occupies in the hospital." There is "another definition of an almoner that describes her as a dispenser of charity, and the very word 'almoner' itself embodies the idea of pitiful kindness (*eleemosyne*)."

The medical social-work group will be interested to find that there is some understanding of their field. For the report comments further as follows:

Heavy as has been the pressure of other duties upon them, most almoners have nevertheless succeeded in achieving a certain amount of constructive social work on behalf of patients, and there is undoubtedly scope here for an extension of their activities. But it should be emphasized that the almoner's function in this field is diagnosis rather than treatment. It is for her to detect the need, classify it and then pass the patient on to the agency best equipped to satisfy it. She is the general practitioner in social healing who must lose all her most interesting cases to the specialists, but she must have a wide knowledge of symptoms and agencies for their relief and the cure of their underlying causes [pp. 28-29].

There are the customary valuable charts and statistical tables.

E. A.

#### ENGLISH ADOPTION SOCIETIES

*Report of the Departmental Committee on Adoption Societies and Agencies.*

Presented by the Secretary of State for the Home Department to Parliament by Command of His Majesty, June, 1937. (Cmd. 5499.) London: H. M. Stationery Office, 1937. Pp. v+59. 1s.

Adoption was first recognized by law in England in 1926, and ten years later we find a departmental committee appointed to inquire into "the evils associated with unlicensed, unregulated and unsupervised adoption" and "the methods pursued by adoption societies or other agencies engaged in arranging for the adoption of children" (p. iv). Miss Florence Horsbrugh, a member of Parliament, was chairman, and a representative of the Home Office, secretary, of the Committee. Among the other members of the Committee was J. J. Mallon of Toynbee Hall, who is known to many Americans.

While the number of legal adoptions in Great Britain increased from 2,967 in 1927 to 5,185 in 1936 (p. 4), it is still a new procedure and *de facto* adoptions, an old practice, are still common, so both were included in the inquiry made by the Committee (p. 2). The evidence submitted by individuals and agencies is not included but is discussed in the *Report*.

The Committee reports that the adoption societies fall into four categories (p. 7):

1. Organizations which existed solely for the purpose of arranging adoptions and those which include the arrangement of adoptions as a part of their regular work [eight such societies are listed in the *Report*]
2. Voluntary homes and other organizations which, without including adoption as a part of their regular work, occasionally arrange adoptions
3. Local authorities
4. Private persons

The evils that the Committee found are most of them familiar to Americans. Nevertheless, it is surprising to find that none of the chief "adoption societies" had any trained investigators (p. 11); that visits to homes and investigation of references were often omitted; that children of unmarried mothers were often

accepted following a single visit to the office of an adoption society; that medical examinations were dispensed with in about one case in ten; and that no uniform policy as to a probation period was observed. These adoption societies derive a large part of their incomes from payments exacted from the mothers, the putative fathers, and the adopters of the children (p. 22), a practice that the Committee considered dangerous and in need of control. Some instances of what amounted to the sale of children by midwives and doctors and unscrupulous individuals were also discovered.

The Poor Law of 1930 (sec. 52 [7]) gave to a public-assistance authority the right to consent to the adoption of a child who is found to be maintained by the authority. While most of the children maintained by such authority are only temporarily under care and therefore not considered eligible for adoption—and not all the local authorities make a practice of arranging for adoption of eligible children—it is expected to increase in the future. The fact that the Committee found that the practice of the London County Council met the standards recommended by the best private agencies (pp. 41 and 42) will be of special interest to students of public welfare administration.

The Committee reached the conclusion that the licensing of adoption societies by the local authorities under conditions laid down, not by statute but by the Home Office, was necessary to eliminate the evils revealed and to insure a progressively high standard of protection of children and service to adopting parents.

The summary of the Committee's recommendations, which are discussed at some length in the *Report*, follows:

1. Adoption societies and agencies should make thorough inquiries into the suitability of would-be adopters to have the care of the child and into the suitability of the child for adoption. As regards the former the submission of a form of application, the taking-up of references, a personal interview, a home visit, are all essential. There should be a thorough medical examination of the child and inquiries into the social and medical history of its parents.
2. There should be a probationary period of at least three months.
3. A well managed hostel is indispensable to the work of an adoption society.
4. The staff of an adoption society or agency should be adequately qualified, and there should be a Case Committee of suitably qualified persons whose sanction should be required before final approval is given to any adoption.
5. The constitution of the governing body of an adoption society is important, and persons who are invited to become patrons or members of the council of an adoption society should make careful inquiries as to the society's methods before accepting.
6. Adoption societies should insist upon application to a court for an adoption order immediately upon the expiration of the probationary period. Certain irregularities by societies in connection with applications for adoption orders may be best corrected by vigilance on the part of the courts.
7. Any charges which may be made to parents should be adjusted to their ability to pay, and all payments made or to be made in respect of an adoption should require the approval of the court.

8. It should be an offence for an adoption society or any other body or person to arrange for a British child (a) to be taken out of the country for adoption by foreign nationals, or (b) to be taken out of the country for adoption by British subjects, without a licence from the Chief Magistrate of the Metropolitan Police Courts or any Magistrate of the Metropolitan Police Courts appointed by Order in Council for the purpose.
9. It should be an offence for any private person to receive any payment for negotiating an adoption without the leave of the court upon an application for an adoption order. There should be a similar prohibition on the receipt of payments by parents or adopters.
10. All advertisements offering or seeking children for adoption except by adoption societies and agencies covered by the recommendations for regulation made later in the *Report* should be prohibited.
11. It is not necessary to regulate the arrangement by local authorities of adoptions under the Poor Law Act, 1930, or otherwise.
12. It should be an offence to carry on an adoption agency which is not licensed by the council of the county or county borough of the area within which its administrative centre is situated. The conditions of the licence should be prescribed by the Secretary of State.
13. The child life-protection provisions of the Public Health Act, 1936, should be extended with appropriate modifications to adoptions arranged by private persons, including the mother or other relative of the child [pp. 53 and 54].

Most of these recommendations follow, although they do not all measure up to, what are regarded as approved standards in the United States. The Department Committee expressed great confidence in the usefulness of case committees in safeguarding the welfare of the children. American experience indicates that with a competent trained staff such committees are largely useless except as a device to hold the interest of the board members of private agencies and so increase the financial resources of the society, and that such a committee, dependent as it is on the investigation of the staff as the basis for its decisions, cannot protect the children from the mistakes of an untrained staff.

GRACE ABBOTT

#### SCANDINAVIAN CHILD WELFARE COUNCILS

*Child Welfare Councils (Denmark, Norway, Sweden).* (Series of League of Nations Publications<sup>1</sup> Social. 1937. IV. 1) League of Nations Child Welfare Committee. Geneva, 1937. Pp. 96. \$0.60.

The Child Welfare Committee of the League of Nations has added another valuable contribution to the literature of child welfare with the publication of this discussion of child welfare councils in Denmark, Norway, and Sweden, compiled respectively by M. Erik Leuning, deputy head of section in the Social Ministry at Copenhagen; M. Erling Broch, judge of the Supreme Court at

<sup>1</sup> International Documents Service, Columbia University Press, New York City, is the American agent for the League of Nations publications.

Oslo; and M. Åke Bylander, director of the Child Welfare Council of the City of Malmö. The reports trace the background of the child welfare councils and describe their scope, organization, and functions. They were established in the following order: Norway, 1896; Sweden, 1902; and Denmark, 1905. They appear to combine the functions of our juvenile courts, of our protective agencies, and to some extent of our child welfare boards.

While varying in detail of organization and scope, the child welfare councils follow the same general pattern as to structure, objectives, trends, and progress. The underlying philosophy which is the same was formulated by Professor Bernhard Getz, noted criminologist of Norway, in 1892, as follows:

It [the Law for the Care of Neglected Children] proceeds from the fundamental idea that the misbehavior of children who call attention to themselves by breaking the law, or by otherwise getting seriously out of hand, should be considered under the heading of neglect—an indication that they are not criminals. Education, therefore, rather than punishment, is what is required, in one form or another [p. 32]. . . .

In my opinion, it will not be satisfactory to assign these matters to the courts of law, whether they be courts of first instance alone or mixed courts. Neither of these arrangements would have much to commend it in questions that involve, not so much the proving and judging of specific acts, as the consideration of living conditions and of the whole character of parents and child alike [p. 31]. . . .

The scheme [the Child Welfare Council] which is proposed on the basis of all these considerations is the setting-up of a body representative of both local personal knowledge and expert knowledge, the narrower and the wider community, the lay element and the Government, the representatives in both cases being persons whose occupation brings them into close touch with the broad masses of the population [p. 32].

The child welfare councils in all three countries are on a communal (parish or township) basis and vary in membership from three to thirteen. In Denmark the councils are appointed by the communal administration. In Norway they consist of the local magistrate, the priest, and five elected members, one of which must be a local physician. In Sweden they are composed of a representative of the Poor Relief Administration, a clergyman, a teacher, and two elected citizens. In all three countries provision is made for an appeal to higher authorities, provincial or national, and both local and national government share in financing the program. The trend is uniformly progressive. The age of juvenile responsibility has been advanced in all the three countries to eighteen and under certain conditions to twenty-one. Scope and jurisdiction have been progressively broadened and now include dependents and special provisions for illegitimate children. Greater emphasis is placed on preventive work through supervision (probation) and placement of children in foster-families. Legislation and administration tend toward greater unity and a more inclusive program of child welfare work. All three countries have codified their child welfare legislation in recent years.

Each country has a variety of institutional facilities including reception and observation homes, youth homes, school homes, protection homes, etc. Children

are sent to one or another of these homes according to age and type of treatment indicated. Private family care is being developed. The large majority of the institutions are operated under private auspices. Thus, in Denmark, out of 331 institutions with a total capacity of 8,500 children, 298 with a capacity of approximately 7,200 are under private auspices. Public subsidy for the care of these children is a general practice. The institutions are licensed and subject to inspection and supervision. They are under the jurisdiction of the Ministry for Social Affairs. The institutions operate independently of the child welfare councils, and efforts are under way to eliminate duplication and dual jurisdiction between the two.

Attempts are made in the reports to evaluate the results of the work of the child welfare councils in terms of statistics. It is not a successful attempt, as the evidence is not adequate or convincing. The authors caution reserve with regard to the conclusions. Thus M. Leuning states:

The conclusions to be drawn from the above must naturally be taken with all reserve, since the grouping is to a great extent based on an estimate of the information obtained from the educational homes, while the information only gives the results for a single year, and results may vary widely in different years [p. 29].

No indication is given in the reports of the role that professional social work plays in the child welfare activities of the Scandinavian countries. The work, including the paid work, seems to be performed by persons other than social workers. There is no reference to qualifications of child welfare inspectors and of other people called upon to deal with children. The only mention of qualification is with regard to members of the child welfare councils, some of whom are selected from the fields of medicine, education, law, etc. Until recently there has been an attempt to specify that the councils include a certain number of women, but in recent legislation such specifications were eliminated as women have been accepted on an equal basis with men on the councils.

Among the gaps pointed out by the authors are inadequate facilities for certain borderline children who cannot be committed to custodial institutions and who handicap the program of the training institutions. There is criticism particularly from social workers of the domination of the child welfare council by the magistrate. He gives the council "a suggestion of a court of justice" and that "not all judges or representatives of the Public Prosecutor's Department lend a sufficiently ready ear to modern ideas for dealing with juvenile crime," the report points out (p. 42).

The child welfare councils are regarded as too cumbersome machinery to function effectively in the smaller communes which cover large areas.

The child welfare councils are anything but static bodies and changes are impending. M. Broch in his report on Norway says:

There is a very strong body of opinion which stresses the advantage of bringing all public work in favour of children under the administration of the Child Welfare Council. It is urged that this centralisation should in particular bring the work of the Poor Law

Department and of the health authorities in this field under the Child Welfare Council. In some quarters, on the other hand, the view is taken that the Child Welfare Council should be fitted, as a subordinate branch, into the general setting of social welfare work for children. Again, it is said that all such work for children should be centralised under a special department at the Ministry [p. 42].

Are these opinions the Scandinavian equivalent of our discussion of categorical relief and administration versus general relief and centralized administration, and of our opinions regarding the transfer of the federal Children's Bureau from the Labor Department to the proposed Social Welfare Department?

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#### LOCAL GOVERNMENT IN THE TYNESIDE AREA

*Report of the Royal Commission on Local Government in the Tyneside Area.*  
(Cmd. 5402.) London: H. M. Stationery Office, 1937. Pp. 104. 1s. 6d.

The Haldane Committee on the Machinery of Government provoked a long and spirited debate among students of public administration by asserting in its famous report of 1918<sup>1</sup> that functions of government should be allocated according to "the services to be performed" rather than according to "the persons or classes to be dealt with." A principle that may ultimately evoke even greater difference of opinion is now enunciated by the Royal Commission appointed in 1935 to inquire into the conditions of local government in the Tyneside area of Northumberland and Durham. According to this principle, local services that are in reality "preponderantly national in character" ought to be administered in terms of larger areas or "regions," while those services that confer upon taxpayers direct benefit "more or less commensurate with the equivalent rate burden" should be and can be more conveniently administered by minor local authorities.

The Commission found on Tyneside sixteen local authorities responsible for the administration of all or some of the local government services. It proposes to remedy this, so far as the services "preponderantly national in character" are concerned, by creating a single regional authority to be known as the Northumberland Regional Council with responsibility for administering these local services in the entire geographical county of Northumberland and, in addition, in certain areas on the south bank of the Tyne in the geographical county of Durham. Consolidation is likewise proposed even with respect to the "minor local services." These are to be administered by one municipal borough (to be called Newcastle-upon-Tyne) composed of eleven jurisdictions on both sides of the river, all of which are now performing independent functions, and including in addition, parts of three other districts.

<sup>1</sup> *Report of the Machinery of Government Committee, Ministry of Reconstruction* (1918) (Cd. 9230), p. 7.

Obviously a major interest in this scheme relates to the defining of the services "predominantly national in character." The Commission faced this difficulty frankly:

While we have decided that the services should most certainly be divided into two categories, we are agreed that the distinction cannot be drawn with logical precision, for the reason that there are some services which, though national in character, can more conveniently be administered by a minor local authority. On the other hand there are services which are hardly national in character and yet are more than local in their broad effects [p. 39].

With this limitation in view, the Commission then proceeded to attempt the distribution of existing local services between the two proposed authorities. Of special interest in this connection are the recommendations with respect to public health and public assistance.

The numerous services loosely grouped together under the term "public health" are divided into two groups: (1) the environmental services and (2) the medical services. The latter are to be administered by the regional authority and the former by the minor local authorities. The really important and expensive services—including clinics and hospitals of all types—will thus be intrusted to the Regional Council. The nature of the "environmental services" allocated to the minor authorities is not fully described, but the context suggests such functions as street sanitation and the disposal of waste.

Public assistance is likewise to be transferred from the numerous minor authorities to the Regional Council, although, in the words of the *Report*, "the advantages of administration over a wide area are not so strong in the case of Public Assistance as they are in certain other services" (p. 47). This conclusion, among others, is at variance with the American experience. In this country those who face the actual problems of administration—as contrasted with those who impose the pattern—are in complete agreement on this question. An impressive body of evidence demonstrates that in the field of poor relief an extraordinarily convincing case can be made for removing the function from the control of minor authorities, such as towns, townships, and municipalities.

In fact, it is clear that in some degree the Commission was still thinking in terms of the Principles of 1834. The extent to which they permitted old poor law principles to obscure some of the newer objectives envisaged by the more recent public assistance measures is strikingly revealed by the following comment on the proposed transfer:

Public Assistance is not a service which lends itself readily to a highly organised system. The all-important considerations in dealing with applicants for relief are the individual circumstances and needs of every case; that the relief granted should accord with the good of the community; and that there should be remedial effort and an endeavour to inculcate a sense of family responsibility. Again, care must be exercised to exclude placing recipients of relief in positions better than those persons who are independent [p. 46].

One major argument in favor of the transfer of public assistance was "the extension of the area of charge," which, it was thought, would tend to "spread the burden . . . more equitably than at present." Another important reason was to facilitate classification of inmates of public assistance institutions. At present some institutions are operated by one authority and are used, in part, by another. Such situations have made the problem of classification practically insoluble on the Tyneside.

In this country attempts have frequently been made to reduce the absurdly large number of county governments the taxpayers now support. Almost all such efforts have ended in failure. Some of the comments in the present *Report* relative to local resistance are therefore worth consideration. In an earlier preliminary investigation (1934) it had been pointed out that "the prospects of voluntary amalgamation are so remote as to be outside the realm of practical politics" and "the whole question of compulsory amalgamation, both in regard to scope and method, is extremely complex." The present Commission therefore undertook its task with the understanding that its concern was the problem of compulsory amalgamation only. Practically all the oral evidence submitted to the Commission was in favor of each town's retaining its own autonomy. This substantial unanimity was heavily discounted by the commissioners. They concluded that "local authorities zealously guard the rights which have been conferred upon them to administer particular services; and consequently the advantages which might possibly accrue to the public by the unified control of the administration of a service over a greatly extended area are liable to be lost sight of in the laudable desire to maintain the status and dignity of the local authority" (p. 40). And again they said: "We appreciate and admire the local pride shown by the people of the various towns on the River Tyne, and by their elected representatives, although we suspect that this local pride is perhaps more developed in the councillors than in their constituents" (p. 59). The conclusion, therefore, was that compulsory amalgamation was desirable and expedient and should be accomplished by an Act of Parliament.

The Tyneside scheme, if adopted, will undoubtedly have far-reaching influence on local government in England. The *Manchester Guardian Weekly*,<sup>2</sup> which regards the proposal as "sound in principle if not in detail," cogently inquires: "If the principle of the regional treatment of great common services is sound in the case of Tyneside, is it not equally sound in the case of Merseyside, Greater Manchester, and other areas?" In fact, the *Guardian* concludes that the Commission's principle could be applied only "as part of a general reorganization of local government or as an experiment leading towards general reorganization."

W. McM.

<sup>2</sup> July 16, 1937, p. 41.

## URBAN WORKERS ON RELIEF

*Urban Workers on Relief*, Part I: "The Occupational Characteristics of Workers on Relief in Urban Areas, May, 1934." By GLADYS L. PALMER and KATHERINE D. WOOD, Part II: "The Occupational Characteristics of Workers on Relief in 79 Cities, May, 1934." By KATHERINE D. WOOD. (Works Progress Administration, Division of Social Research, Research Monograph No. 4.) Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1936-37. 2 vols. Pp. xxvii+203; xx+301.

Early in the summer, during the debate on the most recent appropriation (\$1,500,000,000) to continue the program of the Works Progress Administration, occasional sharp references were made to the unprecedentedly extensive research activities carried on by the W.P.A. and its predecessor, the F.E.R.A. Hon. Guy L. Moser of Pennsylvania, for example, suggested with biting sarcasm on the floor of the House on June 2 that "the propaganda statistical books issued by the Works Progress Administration would compare with Dr. Eliot's 5-foot shelf of books." Hon. Maury Maverick of Texas retorted hotly that the information issued by the W.P.A. was "much more up to date than Dr. Eliot's 5-foot shelf, and probably more in accordance with present needs"; and he cited a half-dozen publications to support his contention, among them *Urban Workers on Relief*.

In the permanent departments of the federal government the problem of determining how much research should be carried on is comparatively simple. Congress makes definite appropriations for specific purposes, and the various departments must restrict their research within the limits permitted by these items. In contrast with this pattern, which, though sometimes unduly restrictive, is at least fairly definite, the problem faced by the W.P.A. (and its predecessor, the F.E.R.A.) is well-nigh insoluble. Congress merely writes a check and the administrative authorities must then decide how much to spend on research. No one could possibly make such a decision without afterwards being subject to criticism either for spending too much or too little.

Certainly even the hostile critics would agree that there is no dearth of problems in this country that need urgently to be investigated. Nevertheless, it is quite obvious that, in social research as in other fields, there is somewhere a point of diminishing returns. This is particularly true if one agency attempts to spread itself too thin. No statements have been published showing the total amounts spent for research by the relief authorities since 1933. Much of this work was intrusted to state and local governments and in such instances the federal government sometimes bore only part of the costs. But even if projects conducted under state and local direction are ignored, the investment in research made by the central authority alone has been very large.

An early traveler once described the Platte River as "a mile wide and an inch deep" and added that "where it grows wider, it grows shallower." There is some ground for wondering whether any fledgling organization—especially if it has access to copious resources—may not similarly allow its enthusiasm for scope to

outstrip its capacity for cutting its channel deep. Effective research organizations are not built over night. They require a highly skilled and specialized type of personnel. Moreover, this personnel requires a period in which to orient itself with respect to the problems with which the organization is struggling. An over-rapid expansion is likely to be purchased at the price of inadequate advance planning of projects and results that, though interesting in themselves, can scarcely class as ten-strikes.

*Urban Workers on Relief* seems to fall precisely into this shadowy no man's land. Containing much that is of interest and value, it nevertheless falls short of a ten-strike. One wonders in reading it how carefully the initial plans were laid. It is significant that one of the most important sections of the report deals with material that turned up as a sort of by-product. With respect to this section, which is entitled "Employed Workers on Relief and Their Jobs," the report says: "Since this group of employed workers was not the chief interest of the survey, the results are neither so comprehensive nor so precise as would have been possible in a study designed solely to investigate the problem of supplementary relief." Yet the findings set forth in this twenty-nine-page chapter seem to require no more qualification than the other sections and certainly are vastly more provocative than the mechanical descriptive distributions of clients by age, race, education, etc.

The first volume of the report summarizes the characteristics of the total sample of 165,000 cases selected in 79 urban centers ranging in size from Douglas, Arizona (population 9,828) to New York City (population 6,930,446). Many of the findings merely confirm the results of previous studies or give additional evidence with respect to widely accepted impressions. In this category, for example, would fall such conclusions as the following: White-collar workers have a better educational background than other workers on relief (p. xxiv); earnings were lower for Negroes than for white persons in the same occupation, despite longer hours worked in some cases (p. xxvi); white-collar workers appear on the relief rolls in a smaller proportion than in the general population (p. 39). The large amount of material of this type unfortunately makes the reading of the report very tedious.

On the other hand, the investigation did bring to light some facts that are either entirely new or at least were not previously widely known. Of special interest, for example, is the material with respect to the predepression unemployed. Here it is shown that 5 per cent of the men on urban relief rolls had held no job lasting over one month for more than five years and that 14 per cent had lost the last job *at their usual occupation* prior to the spring of 1929 (the sample used in this study was selected from cases on relief in May, 1934). The proportion of women in this group of so-called predepression unemployed is even higher (19 per cent), but the figures are less trustworthy. Many women who lost their last job in their usual occupations prior to the spring of 1929 may actually be re-entrants into the labor market, having been forced to seek employment because of the loss of jobs by male members of their families.

The study likewise marshalls convincing evidence to refute the charge that the unemployed are industrial misfits. Eighty-six per cent of the entire group had previously been gainfully employed. The remainder were in the main very young workers who had only recently entered the labor market. More than half of the men had worked ten years or more at their usual occupation. Approximately half of the women had worked four and a half years or more in their customary employment. On the whole, the group was made up of experienced persons with an impressively regular and stable work history.

As previously suggested, the chapter entitled "Workers on Relief and Their Jobs" is of special interest and value. The twin evils—underemployment and low wages—are country wide, as evidenced by the fact that employed workers on relief were found in every one of the seventy-nine cities. The proportions varied from 5 per cent of the total in Little Rock, Arkansas, to 42 per cent in Gloversville, New York. A strike was in progress in Gloversville at the time of the investigation. This accounts for the high percentage in that city, since strikers on relief were classified as employed—a procedure, incidentally, which is certainly subject to question. About half of the employment reported was on a part-time basis. Most of the remainder was full-time work at low wages, ranging from an average of \$11.20 per week for white men to an average of \$2.80 per week for Negro women. Undoubtedly the average for white men is an overstatement, owing to the fact that men who accepted full-time employment in private industry in May, 1934, enter into the calculation at the rate of pay they were scheduled to receive. A comparatively small number returning to their former jobs at \$35 or \$40 per week would thus distort the average upwards.

The second volume of the report gives, in the main, the detailed analysis, by individual cities, of the material presented in Part I. This material will be of interest chiefly to those who wish to compare the incidence of some particular aspect of the relief roll in their community with that of the other cities. Thus Chicago may learn (p. 25) that men from the building trades accounted for only 10.9 per cent of all its workers on relief, as compared with 20.2 per cent in New York, 14.2 per cent in Detroit, and 14.0 per cent in Los Angeles. Or with respect to duration of unemployment, Chicago may find (p. 288) that the median for its group was 30.6 months as compared with 20.8 months in New York, 23.0 months in Detroit, and 23.8 months in Los Angeles.

Research conducted under the auspices of an organization that is the object of political attack probably should always culminate only in a rigidly objective exposition of the facts. The moment any interpretation is set forth or any program is suggested, the report is at once under suspicion. From then on it loses power to influence attitudes and to mold events. This fact has been hard for the W.P.A. to learn. After showing, for example, that the workers with better education, longer experience, and the possession of an alternate skill have a superior chance of re-employment, the present report adds: "It follows that a work relief program which emphasizes giving unemployed workers on relief more experience

at their customary occupations, or offering an opportunity to learn an alternate occupation and to secure a better educational background, will help to reduce the size of the residual group of long-time unemployed now on public relief rolls in many urban areas." Apart from any flaw in the logic (for increase in individual skill may enable one man to beat another out of a job but it does not increase the effective demand for workers within the total market) it is unfortunate that the report contains such statements as this. All enemies and many luke-warm friends will see implicit in it a complete defense of boondoggling at its worst. The security of the destitute unemployed is already so tenuous that it should not be further jeopardized by charges that the central authority is using its resources to prove its case. The safest policy would be to let the facts speak for themselves.

W. McM.

#### CHRONOLOGY OF THE F.E.R.A.

*Chronology of the Federal Emergency Relief Administration, May 12, 1933, to December 31, 1935.* By DORIS CARTHERS. (Works Progress Administration, Division of Social Research, Research Monograph No. 6.) Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1937. Pp. viii+163.

This monograph is in no sense a history of federal relief activities. It is nevertheless an exceedingly useful document. It is a summary of the acts of Congress and the regulations issued by the federal authority with respect to unemployment relief. In some instances messages of the President are likewise included in so far as they relate to relief plans or policies.

The material is divided into four chapters: (1) "The Early Program," (2) "Transfer of Work Relief to Civil Works," (3) "The Emergency Work-Relief Program," (4) "Inauguration of the Works Program and Liquidations of the Federal Emergency Relief Administration." Each entry is clearly and succinctly summarized and gives in one margin the date of issue and in the other margin the classification in which the act, message, or regulation falls. It is indicative of the scope of the federal program that twenty categories were required for purposes of classification.

In addition, the monograph contains seven appendixes and an Index. Appendix D, which lists the executive orders affecting the program of the F.E.R.A., will be of special interest to those who are interested in tracing the changes and development in the relief activities in so far as they were effected through the medium of official governmental orders, as contrasted with unofficial and informal methods of supervision and control.

There are, of course, sharp differences of opinion throughout the country concerning the quality of job the central relief authority has delivered. Whatever the ultimate verdict of history may be on this point, certainly there will be little room to deny that in controversial issues the administration has tended rather consistently to adopt the liberal rather than the reactionary point of view.

Illustrative of this attitude are the following orders, selected at random from the Chronology:

Public funds shall be administered by public agencies [p. 6] [a ruling that was unfortunately honored in the breach in some communities]; An obligation is imposed to see that the needy receive sufficient relief . . . to maintain minimum living standards [p. 7]; There shall be no discrimination because of race, religion, color, noncitizenship, political affiliation, or because of membership in any special or selected group [p. 9]; Persons employed on work-relief projects by States and their subdivisions ought to be covered by compensation or accident insurance [p. 9]; Funds granted under the Federal Emergency Relief Act of 1933 may be used in paying work-relief wages only at or above 30 cents an hour [p. 12]; Each case [of a striker] applying for relief will be considered on its merits as a relief case, wholly apart from any controversy in which the wage earner may be involved [p. 22]; Adequate care should be given to transients without any time limitation and no "passing on" will be tolerated . . . [p. 25]; Needy women shall receive equal consideration with needy men [p. 49].

These and many similar orders reflect a broad liberalism in attitude that challenges respect. The extent to which, through competent administration, it was possible to obtain acceptance of these sentiments in the thousands of jurisdictions throughout the country where the federal relief funds were actually distributed remains yet to be carefully appraised. Upon that appraisal rather than upon the orders issued from Washington the final judgment must be based.

W. McM.

#### NEW HOPE FOR A FEDERAL CHILD LABOR LAW

*To Regulate the Products of Child Labor: Hearings before the Committee on Interstate Commerce, United States Senate, Seventy-fifth Congress, First Session, May 12, 18, and 20, 1937.* Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1937. Pp. 192.

These "Child Labor Hearings" before the Senate committee which had under consideration Senate bills Nos. 592, 1976, 2068, 2226, and 2345, all of them bills to regulate interstate commerce in the products of child labor, include some extremely interesting discussions of the administration of the earlier federal child labor laws as well as discussions of the proposed legislation. The first witness before the committee was former Congressman Keating of Colorado, who is now a resident of Washington, D.C. Mr. Keating was one of the authors of the earlier Child Labor Law and has been one of the staunchest friends of working children in the United States, and his testimony is an interesting chapter in American social history. Mr. Keating discussed the question whether the passage of a new child labor law would in any way interfere with the ratification of the child labor amendment, and he said quite forcibly that he would rather "toss the legislation out of the window" than interfere in any way with the progress of the ratification of the amendment, since he knows so well that complete protection will come only through constitutional provision.

No attempt will be made here to discuss the details of the different bills under consideration. Mr. Keating and other witnesses presented some very interesting material on this subject.

Other persons who appeared before the committee included Miss Lenroot, chief of the United States Children's Bureau; Courtney Dinwiddie, general secretary of the National Child Labor Committee; Mr. William H. Davis, representing the National Consumers' League; Mrs. Dorothy Kirchwey Brown, director of the National League of Women Voters, Boston, Massachusetts; Grace Abbott, professor of public welfare administration, University of Chicago, former chief of the United States Children's Bureau, who was in charge of the administration of the first federal Child Labor Law; as well as representatives of a number of labor organizations and others interested. The testimony contains some very interesting discussions of the administrative problems that arise in connection with enforcement of labor legislation of this kind, so that the document as a whole will be of interest to students of public welfare administration.

E. A.

#### STATE AND CITY REPORTS

##### ALABAMA

*First Annual Report of the State Department of Public Welfare of Alabama for the Fiscal Year Ending September 30, 1936.* Montgomery, 1937.  
Pp. 171.

The act creating the Alabama State Department of Public Welfare was approved August 27, 1935, and was hailed at the time as, in many particulars, a model act. It is, therefore, a matter of great satisfaction to find that this report of a little less than a year's work shows great progress in the organization of the social services of the state.

The Child Welfare Commission had organized county child welfare boards with paid, trained staff in almost all counties before the depression, and an excellent state program of foster-home care and co-operation with juvenile courts had been developed. This work was badly disrupted during the depression period, but the ground work had been well laid for the Department of Public Welfare.

The Department has been organized in four bureaus—Child Welfare, with four divisions, foster-home care, adoptions, child-caring institutions, and special child welfare service; Family Welfare and Public Assistance, which has three divisions, public assistance, adult institutions, and adjustment; Field Service; Accounting and Business—and two independent divisions (1) Statistics and Surveys and (2) Training and Personnel. The Public Assistance Division of the Bureau of Family Welfare and Public Assistance took over in September, 1935, from the state relief administration the aged, the dependent children's families, the mentally and physically handicapped, and women who had no employment

history, as well as certification through the county departments of public welfare for C.C.C. and W.P.A. employment and the distribution of surplus commodities.

Federal aid was a great factor in the immediate success of the Department. For example, counties were readily persuaded to close their almshouses following a survey made by the Department in 1935, when it was pointed out that they would receive one state dollar and two federal dollars for every county dollar being expended on almshouse care. "This," the *Report* points out, "enabled the county departments of public welfare to provide for the persons removed from the almshouses and also gave them money to provide for other needy persons" (p. 14).

The Alabama act specifically permits the employment of nonresidents and lays down the basis for professional standards. In this report we find that of the professional members of the State staff, all have had a year or more of experience in social work positions. All persons in supervisory positions have had from one to five years of experience as visitors. Seventeen have filled positions as supervisors in the Alabama Child Welfare or relief programs. Nineteen had experience in teaching and supervisory work before entering the field of social work [p. 106].

The State Board of Public Welfare fixes the qualifications for workers in the county departments of public welfare. The standards set for the county directors are not yet adequate, but it is to be hoped that the qualifications for visitors (p. 107) can soon be raised. An in-service training program has been planned, and the United States Children's Bureau is, through its grants in aid for child welfare services (Social Security Act), providing a child welfare consultant who will assist in this program.

In Alabama it has been found easier to accomplish a good administrative setup than to give adequate care for the state's dependents. Mothers' aid, as the *Report* points out, is discouragingly inadequate—during September, 1936, 15,754 dependent children in 5,322 families were receiving an average of only \$3.52 per child per month (p. 32). The highest average monthly grant for a county was \$5.79 per child (p. 33). The *Report* warns the citizens of Alabama that

as the fiscal year 1935-1936 ends and as the winter season approaches with all its attendant hardships for those not equipped with food, clothing or proper shelter, it is indeed a matter of serious concern to review the present situation. The present grants are not even providing the necessities of life. Many families are facing eviction, with children malnourished, cold, hungry and ill [p. 33].

Similarly the *Report* says of the old age assistance program that "the small amount of aid granted together with all other income of the recipients of old age assistance is not sufficient to provide them with adequate shelter, food, and clothing to say nothing of proper medical care" (p. 75).

While this presents a very discouraging picture, the *Report* is an admirable one. It sets forth the historical background, summarizes legislation, tells what has been done by the Department, in narrative and in statistical tables calls at-

tention to the inadequacy of program and funds, and sets out the objectives toward which the Department is working. It is to be hoped it will be widely read in Alabama.

#### MINNESOTA

*A Merit System for Minnesota.* ("Social Science Series," No. 1.) St. Paul: Minnesota Department of Education, Educational Materials Project, 1937. Pp. 63.

This handbook of information about the progress of civil service in this country and the values to be expected from adopting the merit system in Minnesota should be useful as a means of informing interested citizens of Minnesota on this subject and of correcting common fallacies about the objections to a legal merit system.

#### NEW MEXICO

*Activities of the New Mexico Department of Public Welfare: Relief Statistics.* Santa Fe, June, 1937. Pp. 40.

The New Mexico Department of Public Welfare created by law in February, 1937, and effective immediately upon its passage and approval has already begun to issue monthly reports of its activities. The June, 1937, report, published in mimeographed form, indicates that three divisions have been established, that of Public Assistance, Child Welfare, and Crippled Children's Service.

The Division of Public Assistance reports that during the month of June, payments were made to 3,280 old age assistance cases, 1,045 aid to dependent children cases, 172 aid to the needy blind cases, and 2,283 direct relief cases. This division also takes care of certification to W.P.A., N.Y.A. distribution of surplus commodities, C.C.C. placements, investigation of complaints and consideration of appeals.

An analysis of the statistical tables shows that average grants to the aged in June amounted to \$10.50, varying from \$12.76 to \$9.55 in the thirty-one counties. Aid to families with dependent children showed a much wider variation, average grants ranging all the way from \$15.00 to \$32.54 with \$22.50 as the state average. The average grant per child was still pitifully low in June, amounting to only \$7.74; and in one county it was as low as \$5.86.

The inadequacy of direct relief payments is pointed out. The report states: "The June average of \$6.70 per case is not sufficient for a family to maintain itself with decency and health. However, due to lack of funds for the administration of direct relief, which is not matched with federal funds, it has been impossible to date to increase allowances" (p. 20). Fortunately, the majority of relief clients have gardens during the summer months which alleviate somewhat the hardship of inadequate allowances.

Although the organization of a department of welfare is a forward step, the great problem of adequate treatment still remains to be dealt with in New Mexico.

## NEW YORK STATE

*A Study of the Medical Needs of Recipients of Old Age Assistance in New York City.* Albany: New York State Department of Social Welfare, 1937. Pp. 79.

This report, published three years after the study was actually made, is considerably out of date with regard to the New York City situation so far as its findings and recommendations are concerned. But the conditions discovered in 1934 in New York City are to be found today in many other areas, and the report will be of interest to many areas outside New York. The widespread need of medical and nursing care has been shown to be very acute today in many sections of the country, as attempts are made to implement the federal Social Security Act. Dr. Ernst P. Boas, distinguished for his great services in the care of chronic illness, was chairman of this Committee, and it is therefore important that the Committee look upon their report "as a preliminary examination not only of a problem of major importance in the care of the dependent aged, but also of the wider problem of social security for all dependent persons within the population." The Committee believes that "while there are some distinctive measures that should be taken in the interests of the aged, in the main, provision for them cannot be apart or radically different from provision of medical care for other groups receiving public assistance." The Committee point out that while the community has

accepted the theory that social security includes not only provision of shelter and sustenance, but also the application of the benefits of medical science, the translation of the purpose into actuality will require a great deal of thought and study. It will also involve some additional expenditure of public funds. *It is finally recommended, therefore, that the newly created State Board of Social Welfare direct its attention to a careful exploration of the problems attendant upon the efficient discharge of this public responsibility* [pp. 5-6].

## NEW YORK CITY

*New York Advancing toward Social Security.* Report of the Department of Public Welfare, New York City, 1936. Pp. 152.

This Report was prepared as New York City was making preparations for the changes that were necessary to put New York in the column of states that had revised existing old age and blind assistance legislation and aid to dependent children to meet the requirements for federal grants-in-aid under the Social Security Act. Under the state legislation of 1937, the New York City share of these forms of public aid will be 25 per cent with 75 per cent reimbursement out of federal and state funds.

The New York City Department of Public Welfare derives its powers and duties from two legal sources—the state welfare law and the city charter. The old charter prohibited the city from giving home relief; and, although the so-called Wicks Act (1931) restored the power to the city to give general home re-

lief, this power was strictly defined and limited and has been, since June 6, 1934, administered by the Emergency Home Relief Bureau and not by the Public Welfare Department.

The new charter, which was adopted in November, 1936, will be effective on January 1, 1938. The absorption of the Emergency Relief Bureau by the Department of Public Welfare will take place in approximately six months, and the *Report* suggests that a neighborhood plan of organization similar to that employed by the department of health in its district health centers, will probably prove desirable after the merger. It is pointed out that the Emergency Relief Bureau's district office "can be used as local district offices of the department for the administration of home relief, old age assistance, and relief of the blind."

The work for destitute and neglected children, old age assistance, shelter for homeless men and women, and other special departments are described in this *Report*, approximately one-half of which is given to statistics tables.

The old term "relief" is used in this *Report*, and relief is regarded as a "permanent function of state government." While the Department is right in looking toward a permanent public assistance program, it is perhaps painting the picture a little too dark to predict that "there will always be a substantial load of unemployables, of part-time, casual work, and those employed at sub-standard wages" who are to be permanently a relief charge. New York should advance toward social security a little more hopefully than this indicates.

#### NORTH CAROLINA

*Juvenile Court Cases in North Carolina, 1929-1934.* By WILEY B. SANDERS and WILLIAM C. EZELL under the joint auspices of the North Carolina State Board of Charities and Public Welfare and the School of Public Administration, the University of North Carolina. Raleigh, N.C.: State Board of Charities and Public Welfare, 1937. Pp. 53.

This study of the North Carolina services for delinquent children should prove of use in promoting greatly needed improvements. The common use of jails for detention of juveniles is described as the "weakest link in the chain of treatment of juveniles" (p. 31). In spite of opinions by the attorney-general that the juvenile courts have no authority to order the whipping of children, 589, or 4.5 per cent of the total number of delinquents, were given this outlawed punishment in the five-year period covered by this report. Eighty per cent of the children whipped were colored. It is strongly condemned in this report.

The importance of centralized supervision of both city and county juvenile courts is stressed in the recommendations.

#### OREGON

*A Joint Report on State Governmental and Administrative Reorganization in Oregon.* Submitted to Governor Charles H. Martin and the Thirty-ninth Legislative Assembly of Oregon. Prepared by the Interim Com-

mission on Governmental and Administrative Reorganization and the Governmental Research Committee of the Oregon State Planning Board with the co-operation of the W.P.A., Official Project Number 65-94-823. January, 1937. Pp. 51. Mimeographed.

This *Report* recommends for Oregon a department of social welfare with four divisions—stitutions, child welfare, public assistance, and corrections—and a parole board composed of ex officio heads of the department and the divisions of the department to have supervision of the parole work from all institutions. Ex officio boards are rarely successful in administration, and this whole subject deserves special consideration before the adoption of the recommendation by the state. The director of social welfare is to be appointed by the governor on the theory that this democratically places responsibility in the electorate. The evidence of the failure of this method of appointment in state after state has been ignored by the Commission.

Consolidation and co-ordination of Oregon's scattered and independent social welfare agencies is greatly needed. As the legislature did not adopt such a program this year, Oregon social workers will have an opportunity after the study of this report to make independent recommendations. A study of Paul Tutt Stafford's report on New Jersey,<sup>1</sup> in which the pros and cons of this question of the relationship of the governor and the state director of social welfare are discussed, will be especially useful.

#### PENNSYLVANIA

*Eighth Biennial Report of the Secretary of Welfare of the Pennsylvania Department of Welfare, June 1, 1934, to May 31, 1936.* Harrisburg, 1936.  
Pp. 103.

In the words of the secretary of welfare, the outstanding achievement during the biennium was the effort made "to bring order and efficiency into Pennsylvania's twenty-nine state-owned hospitals and penal and correctional institutions." Crowded conditions in the penitentiaries were relieved by a more thorough classification of the inmates and their transfer from one penitentiary to another "according to the kind of security their offense and character warrants"; trade-training and prison-labor industries had been extended; and responsibility for the maintenance of discipline was placed upon the superintendents and wardens instead of upon subordinates as had been the case in many instances. To relieve crowded conditions in the institutions for the mentally ill, an amendment to the Mental Health Act providing for the boarding-out of mental patients was enacted at the suggestion of the Bureau of Mental Health. The Bureau also urged institutional expansion and the extension of preventive and educational programs.

The *Report* contains a chart showing the functional organization of the

<sup>1</sup> *State Welfare Administration in New Jersey* (Princeton, N.J., 1934).

department, and the work of the various bureaus and divisions is clearly presented.

Until the establishment of the new Department of Public Assistance in 1937, the Division of Grants and Pensions supervised the administration of pensions to mothers, the aged, and the blind. On May 31, 1936, all but eight of the sixty-seven counties were matching state allocations for mothers' assistance with county funds on an equal basis. At that time 8,662 mothers were receiving grants which benefitted 23,000 children. Average grants amounted to \$34.56, varying all the way from \$42.34 in a small central county to \$20.00 in another small adjoining county. The inadequacy of the funds is evidenced by the large waiting-list which "has grown to the point where it is as numerous as the list of beneficiaries." Amendments to the mothers' assistance law to make possible participation in Social Security Act grants were pending at the time the *Report* was submitted.

Assistance to the aged, which made up a third of the \$59,914,800 appropriated for the biennium 1935-37, was being granted to 40,193 persons at the end of the fiscal period May 31, 1936, and the number of eligible persons still waiting to receive grants was more than one and a half times as great. Moreover, pending legislation eliminating a fifteen-year citizenship requirement and reducing the length of residence in the state was expected to add thousands to the eligible list. Anticipated federal grants were expected to cut down the waiting-list.

Since pensions for both the aged and the blind were being paid entirely with state funds during the biennium, all the counties in the state were participating in these services. Average monthly grants amount to \$21.39 for the aged and to \$23.99 for the blind. Pensions to the blind were very uniform throughout the counties, but greater variation was to be found in the old age pensions.

The Division of Family and Child Welfare in the Bureau of Community Work had been able to extend its services into rural areas through funds made available by the Social Security Act for child welfare services. In this connection, it is interesting to note that for the preceding three years there had been "a gradual slight decrease in the numbers of children under care." The decrease, however, was found in the age group under fifteen. The numbers of those over fifteen years had been steadily increasing. This, the report states, "indicates a need or attention to the group of children who some years ago were considered able to maintain themselves, but who, under present conditions, must receive care" (p. 17).

#### VERMONT

*Biennial Report of the Department of Public Welfare of the State of Vermont for the Two Years Ending June 30, 1936.* Montpelier, Vt., 1937. Pp. 142.

The *Report* of the Vermont Department of Public Welfare reflects the emphasis that is put upon the institutional program in that state. All but fifteen

pages are devoted to the work of the five state charitable, correctional, and penal institutions under the control of the Department and of two sanitoriums to which special appropriations are made for the care of "indigent tuberculosis persons."

The divisional organization of the Department is not clearly set forth in the *Report*, but it would appear that there is a charities division and a probation and parole division. Under the charities division are included such services as supervision of aid to dependent children, child welfare services, and administration of blind assistance.

During the fiscal period grants were made to 739 children in 340 families, and the *Report* goes on to say that there is "an appealing waiting list" (p. 7). How adequate are the grants cannot be ascertained, since neither the amount appropriated for this service nor the average grant is stated in either the discussion or the statistical tables. Services to children have been extended into three widely separated rural areas of the state, and a case consultant has been added to the staff. One of the new services added to the Department during the biennium has been the granting of assistance to the blind. Vermont was one of the first states to qualify for federal grants to the blind under the Social Security Act, an act for that purpose having been passed at a special session of the legislature. "The awards per quarter have totaled \$5,000.00 and average amount per person is \$11.00."

A worth-while project carried on by the Department with the co-operation of the W.P.A. is the establishment of a central index of all families known to the welfare agencies of the state.

#### DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA

*Report of the Government of the District of Columbia for the Year Ended June 30, 1936.* Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1936. Pp. 203.

In the *Report of the Government of the District of Columbia* one finds a brief report of the Board of Public Welfare. A description of the work of the Department by the Director of Public Welfare, who is also executive secretary of the Board was recently published in the *Review*.<sup>1</sup> Recently the work of the Department has been greatly enlarged by the placing of the temporary relief program on a permanent basis in the Department and by the addition of the assistance program of the Social Security Act. Since this report was written, the medical services of the Department have been transferred to the health department, which has hitherto been concerned with preventive health measures.

<sup>1</sup> Elwood Street, "The District of Columbia as a Local Welfare Unit," *Social Service Review*, XI (March, 1937), 9-25.

## CONTRIBUTORS

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